BENEDICTIO
DOXOLO

IN THE

EPISTLES OF

L. G. CHAMPION

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BENEDICTIONS AND DOXOLOGIES IN THE EPISTLES OF PAUL

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IN THE

EPISTLES OF PAUL

Inaugural-Dissertation
zur
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PREFACE

The study of early Christian worship has received fresh impetus in recent years and it has been realized that the New Testament offers us considerable material from which we may draw our information. This recognition of Christian worship as a background to the New Testament writings has also in its turn afforded valuable clues for a right understanding of many passages. The accompanying study emphasizes one section of this subject, viz., the benedictions and doxologies, and endeavours by this means to bring some familiar passages of Paul's epistles into a fresh setting.

This thesis, with a few differences from the present text, was originally submitted to, and accepted, by the faculty of Theology in the University of Heidelberg, and I desire here to express my warm appreciation and gratitude to Herr Prof. Dr. M. Dibelius, of Heidelberg, for his gracious help and stimulating teaching, during my two years study in Germany.

ABBREVIATIONS

O.T.	=	Old Testament.
N.T.	=	New Testament.
G.R.	=	Ginza: Rechter Teil.
G.L.	=	Ginza: Linker Teil.
Qol.	=	Mandäische Liturgien: Qolasta.
O.S.	=	Mandäische Liturgien: Oxforder Sammlung.
I.C.C.	=	International Critical Commentary.
Z.n.t.W.	=	Zeitschrift zur neutestament Wissenschaft.
R.G.G.	=	Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

THE purpose of this introduction is to set forth the passages, which form the basis of the study to which the following pages are devoted. The title which has been chosen gives a clear indication of the nature of these passages, and the accompanying list reveals their frequency in the epistles of Paul. This frequency, combined with their similarity in structure and language, justifies the attempt to group the benedictions and doxologies, and to place them in a wider sphere than that of their immediate context in Paul's epistles.

It is also necessary to keep one distinction clearly in mind. The passages to be discussed must be distinguished quite sharply from those rhetorical passages which often occur at the end of a section of Paul's letters, and which are sometimes expressed in exalted language similar to that of doxologies, e.g., Rom. viii, 38, 39 ; 1 Cor. iii, 22, 23 ; 1 Cor. xv, 55–57; 2 Cor. iv, 16–18; vi, 16–18, etc. These passages belong essentially to Paul's style ; they are a continuation and culmination of the preceding verses. They show large variations and often the effort for an effective climax, but they have not the character of doxologies, for these are to a large extent independent of their context.[1]

For the sake of clarity, the passages to be discussed are arranged in the following order :

At the opening of each letter a wish is expressed, *χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, Rom. i, 7 ; 1 Cor. i, 3 ; 2 Cor. i, 2 ; Phil. i, 2 ; 2 Th. 1, 2 ; Phm. 3 ; Eph. i, 3 ; Gal. i, 3.

χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν. Col. i, 2.

χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη. 1 Th. i, 1. (This was also increased to the usual formula in some MSS. notably א. A.)

At the end of each letter is a benediction, and these show greater variations.

[1] Cf. R. Bultmann, *Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe*, p. 52.

ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν. 1 Th. v, 28.

ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. 2 Th. iii, 18.

ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν. Rom. 16, 20.

ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί. Gal. vi, 18

ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν. Phil. iv, 23; Phm. 25.

ἡ χάρις μεθ' ὑμῶν. Col. iv, 18.

ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν. ἡ ἀγάπη μου μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. 1 Cor. xvi, 23, 24.

ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. 2 Cor. xiii, 13.

ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀγαπώντων τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ. Eph. vi, 24.

In addition to these, similar formulas are also found in other parts of the Epistles.

ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. Rom. xv, 33.

ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ εἰρήνης ἔσται μεθ' ὑμῶν. 2 Cor. xiii, 11.

καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ἔσται μεθ' ὑμῶν. Phil. iv, 9.

Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος τῆς εἰρήνης δῴη ὑμῖν τὴν εἰρήνην διὰ παντὸς ἐν παντὶ τρόπῳ. ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. 2 Th. iii, 16.

ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς ἐλπίδος πληρώσαι ὑμᾶς πάσης χαρᾶς καὶ εἰρήνης ἐν τῷ πιστεύειν, εἰς τὸ περισσεύειν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐλπίδι ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος ἁγίου. Rom. xv, 13.

καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ ὑπερέχουσα πάντα νοῦν φρουρήσει τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ νοήματα ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. Phil. iv, 7.

εἰρήνη τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ἀγάπη μετὰ πίστεως ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Eph. vi, 23.

Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ ὁ θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν, ὁ ἀγαπήσας ἡμᾶς καὶ δοὺς παράκλησιν αἰωνίαν καὶ ἐλπίδα ἀγαθὴν ἐν χάριτι, παρακαλέσαι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας καὶ στηρίξαι ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ ἀγαθῷ. 2 Th. ii, 16, 17.

ὑμᾶς δὲ ὁ κύριος πλεονάσαι καὶ περισσεύσαι τῇ ἀγάπῃ εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ εἰς πάντας, καθάπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς, εἰς τὸ στηρίξαι ὑμῶν· τὰς καρδίας ἀμέμπτους ἐν ἁγιωσύνῃ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ. 1 Th. iii, 12, 13.

Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ἁγιάσαι ὑμᾶς ὁλοτελεῖς καὶ ὁλόκληρον

ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀμέμπτως ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τηρηθείη. 1 Th. v, 23.

ὁ δὲ κύριος κατευθύναι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. 2 Th. iii, 5.

Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς κατευθύναι τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. 1 Th. iii, 11.

ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ τῆς παρακλήσεως δῴη ὑμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἵνα ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐν ἑνὶ στόματι δοξάζητε τὸν θεὸν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Rom. xv, 5, 6.

All these passages may be included under the term "benedictions" or "blessings," though it is evident that some of the phrases lie outside this description. This leads us also to the inclusion of several other passages from the epistles of Paul, which are of rather a different nature from those mentioned above, and yet contain characteristics so similar that they must be brought into consideration. These passages are as follows :

εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως, ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν . . . 2 Cor. i, 3.

εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ . . Eph. i, 3.

. . . καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Rom. ix, 5.

ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ οἶδεν, ὁ ὢν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὅτι . . . 2 Cor. xi, 31.

. . . καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, ὅς ἐστιν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Rom. i, 25.

χάρις ὑμῖν ἀπὸ . . . κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐξέληται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Gal. i, 2–5.

τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ ὑμᾶς στηρίξαι κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν μυστηρίου χρόνοις αἰωνίοις σεσιγημένου, φανερωθέντος δὲ νῦν διά τε γραφῶν προφητικῶν κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ αἰωνίου θεοῦ εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη γνωρισθέντος, μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ διὰ

Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Rom. xvi, 25–27.

τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ ὑπὲρ πάντα ποιῆσαι ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ ὧν αἰτούμεθα ἢ νοοῦμεν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἐνεργουμένην ἐν ἡμῖν, αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων. Eph. iii, 20–21.

. . . κατέναντι οὗ ἐπίστευσεν θεοῦ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦντος τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα. Rom. iv, 17.

ἀλλ' ἡμῖν εἷς θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν, καὶ εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ. 1 Cor. viii, 6.

ὦ βάθος πλούτου καὶ σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως θεοῦ· ὡς ἀνεξερεύνητα τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ. τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου; ἢ τίς σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο; ἢ τίς προέδωκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνταποδοθήσεται αὐτῷ; ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα· αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Rom. xi, 33–36.[1]

εἷς θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν. Eph. iv, 6.

ὁ δὲ θεός μου πληρώσει πᾶσαν χρείαν ὑμῶν κατὰ τὸ πλοῦτος αὐτοῦ ἐν δόξῃ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· τῷ δὲ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ ἡμῶν ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Phil. iv, 19, 20.

Though these passages contain many differences, their common characteristics are sufficient to bring them under the one title of doxologies.

It may be remarked here that 2 Th. and Eph. have been included, not because they are regarded necessarily as of Pauline authorship, but because the benedictions and doxologies in these two letters are so similar to those of the other letters, that they may be considered together.

A further remark is also necessary concerning the intention of this study. It is not intended to discuss the general subject of praise and blessing in all its manifestations in the religious life, but only as that subject finds expression in passages which may almost be described as of the nature of liturgical formulae. The given phrases have been selected from the epistles because at a first glance they show themselves to be self-contained formulae of blessing or

[1] These sentences are actually a rhetorical conclusion to this section of the letter to the Romans (chaps. ix–xi), but the final phrases form a doxology and hence they are included.

praise. It is often possible to remove them from their context without materially altering the sense of the whole passage, and often they do not seem to have any particular connection with, or to have grown out of the preceding section.

A closer analysis of the benedictions and doxologies, and of their position in the letters of Paul will reveal this more clearly, and will also lead to the discussion concerning their significance.

CHAPTER I

THE ANALYSIS

1. *Characteristics of the selected passages*

It has been remarked already that the selected passages bear the nature of self-contained formulae, and this will be exhibited more clearly in the following examination of their structure. This examination will be carried out with considerable, and it may seem unnecessary detail, but the results obtained depend upon a consideration of many details. In this analysis it will be seen that both benedictions and doxologies have common characteristics and are built up in a similar manner, and thus they may be considered together.

(*a*) The chief feature common throughout the passages is that the mention of God or Christ is seldom made in a short, simple phrase, but is usually followed by one or more phrases containing the ascription of attributes or the mention of activities. This in itself is not so significant as the fact that these additional phrases are almost entirely participial clauses. This use of the participle instead of the indicative is important, because, as will be seen later, this establishes the connection between the passages chosen from the epistles of Paul and a wider body of literature, and so proves that they are not the peculiarity of any one author or of writers in any one movement. Examples of this participial construction are:

2 Cor. i, 3 ὁ θεὸς . . . ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν.

Eph. i, 3 ὁ θεὸς . . . ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν **πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ** πνευματικῇ.

2 Th. ii, 16. ὁ θεὸς . . . ὁ ἀγαπήσας ἡμᾶς καὶ δοὺς παράκλησιν αἰωνίαν.

Rom. iv, 17 . . . θεοῦ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦντος τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα.

1 Th. v, 24 πιστὸς ὁ καλῶν ὑμᾶς.

Phil. iv, 7 ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ ὑπερέχουσα πάντα νοῦν.
Gal. i, 4 . . . Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν.
1 Th. ii, 12 ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ καλοῦντος ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείαν, καὶ δόξαν.

Somewhat similar is also the expression τῷ δυναμένῳ . . . Rom. xvi, 25 ; Eph. iii, 20. The words from Rom. ix, 5, ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων are not included here, because they are regarded as of a different nature and will be discussed more fully later.

(*b*) In addition to the use of participles, the divine attributes are also expressed by means of genitives, and here it must be noticed that the genitives are so closely connected with the preceding nouns that the expression must be considered as a whole. These expressions are, further, peculiar to the passages under consideration :

2 Cor. i, 3 ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως.
2 Cor. xiii, 11 ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ εἰρήνης.
Phil. iv, 9 ; 1 Th. v, 23 ; Rom. xv, 33; xvi, 20. ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης.
2 Th. iii, 16 ὁ κύριος τῆς εἰρήνης.
Rom. xv, 13 ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἐλπίδος.
Rom. xv, 5 ὁ θεὸς τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ τῆς παρακλήσεως.
Eph. i, 17 ὁ πατὴρ τῆς δόξης.

Occasionally also the words are reversed, but this does not appear to denote a fundamental change in meaning, but only a difference in emphasis.

Phil. iv, 7 ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ.
2 Th. iii, 5 εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ
2 Th. iii, 5 εἰς τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
Rom. xi, 33 σοφία καὶ γνῶσις θεοῦ.
2 Cor. x, 1 διὰ τῆς πραΰτητος καὶ ἐπιεικείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
Rom. xvi, 20, etc. ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
2 Cor. xiii, 13 ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

(*c*) A further common characteristic is the full titles which are used for God and Christ. It is not only that a variety of titles occur, but more significantly that an attempt seems to be made to express the titles in a solemn liturgical form. This has to be placed in connection with

the use of participles and genitives indicated above. Examples of such titles are :

. . . ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Rom. i, 7; 1 Cor. i, 3 ; 2 Cor. i, 2 ; Gal. i, 2 ; Eph. i, 2 ; Phil. i, 2 ; 2 Th. i, 2 ; Phm. 3.

ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς. 1 Th. v, 23 ; 5, 28 ; 2 Th. iii, 18 ; Gal. vi, 18 ; Rom. xv, 30 ; 1 Cor. xv, 57—without ἡμῶν Phm. 25; 2 Cor. xiii, 13.

ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Eph. i, 3 ; 2 Cor. i, 3 ; Rom. xv, 6 ; 2 Cor. xi, 31.

Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ ὁ θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν. 2 Th. ii, 16.

ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν. 1 Th. iii, 13 (Gal. i, 5 ; Phil. iv, 20).

Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς. 1 Th. iii, 11.

The absolute use of ὁ κύριος, 1 Th. iii, 12 ; 2 Th. iii, 5 ; iii, 16 is also to be noticed.

(*d*) The above features are common to benedictions and doxologies alike, but there is one feature which occurs only in the benedictions. This is the use of the optative.

Rom. xv, 13 ὁ θεὸς . . . πληρώσαι ὑμᾶς πάσης χαρᾶς.
2 Th. ii, 17 ὁ κύριος . . . παρακαλέσαι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας καὶ στηρίξαι.
1 Th. iii, 12 ὁ κύριος πλεονάσαι καὶ περισσεύσαι . . .
1 Th. v, 23 ὁ θεὸς . . . ἁγιάσαι ὑμᾶς.
2 Th. iii, 5 ὁ κύριος . . . κατευθύναι τὰς καρδίας
1 Th. iii, 11 ὁ θεὸς . . . κατευθύναι τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμῶν.
Rom. xv, 5 ὁ θεὸς . . . δῴη ὑμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν.
1 Th. iii, 16 ὁ κύριος . . δῴη ὑμῖν τὴν εἰρήνην.

These verbs are all aorist optatives in the active mood, but there is one passage where the passive mood appears. 1 Th. v, 23 ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τηρηθείη. There are also two passages in Philippians which are similar to the benedictions except in their use of the future indicative instead of the optative.

Phil. iv, 7 ἡ εἰρήνην τοῦ θεοῦ . . . φρουρήσει τὰς καρδίας.
Phil. iv, 19 ὁ δὲ θεὸς μου πληρώσει πᾶσαν χρείαν ὑμῶν.

No attempt has been made in this analysis to discuss the

significance of the given facts, for that will follow later. But the facts have shown that the selected passages possess a similar form and phraseology. Further facts will now demonstrate their difference from other parts of the Pauline epistles.

2. *Comparison of the passages with their context*

The last section raises a number of questions which must be noticed. Are these benedictions and doxologies entirely the creation of Paul? or are they partly from him and partly from some other source? or are they entirely from another source? Is it possible that they represent forms of expression which were not peculiar to Paul, but which were taken over by him from other sources?

Some attempt must now be made to answer these questions and it will be carried out by means of a comparison between the benedictions and doxologies, and the other parts of Paul's epistles. The most productive comparison in this connection will be that of vocabulary.

(*a*) From an exhaustive comparison of the phrases common to the selected passages with the vocabulary of Paul, it can be stated at once that the majority of phrases frequent in these passages do not occur in the epistles at all.

The method adopted has not been that of comparing the separate words, for many expressions in the benedictions and doxologies, as has been seen in the preceding section, cannot be separated into the individual words, but must be considered as a whole. Many of these phrases are very short and are as characteristic of the style of an author as the actual words used.

The results of the comparison in more detail are as follows:

Phrases occurring frequently in the benedictions and doxologies but in no other passage in the epistles are:

ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης. Rom. xvi, 20; xv, 33; 2 Cor. xiii, 11; Phil. iv, 9; 1 Th. v, 23 (2 Th. iii, 16).

ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 2 Cor. xi, 31; i, iii; Eph. i, 3; Rom. xv, 6.

ὁ θεὸς πατὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς. Rom. i, 7; 1 Cor. i, 3; 2 Cor. i, 2; Gal. i, 3; Eph. i, 2; Phil. i, 2; 2 Th. i, 2; Phm. 3

ᾧ ἡ δόξα. Rom. xvi, 27; xi, 36; Phil. iv, 20; Eph. iii, 20.
εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Rom. xvi, 27; Gal. i, 5; Phil. iv, 20—without τῶν αἰώνων, Rom. i, 25; ix, 5; xi, 36; 2 Cor. xi, 31.
εὐλογητὸς. Rom. i, 25; ix, 5; 2 Cor. xi, 31; i, 3; Eph. i, 3.
χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη—beginning of each letter.

In addition to these, many expressions occur once or twice in the benedictions and doxologies, but are not found elsewhere in Paul's epistles.

ὁ θεὸς τῆς παρακλήσεως. 2 Cor. i, 3; Rom. xv, 5.
ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀγάπης. 2 Cor. xiii, 11. . . . τῆς ἐλπίδος. Rom. xv, 13.
εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ. Phil. iv, 7.
ἡ ὑπομόνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ. 2 Th. iii, 5.
ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν. 2 Cor. i, 3.
ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 1 Th. iii, 12; v, 23.
ὁ αἰωνίος θεὸς. Rom. xv, 26.
μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ. Rom. xvi, 27.
θεὸς ἀληθινός. 1 Th. i, 9.

It will be seen that most of these expressions are just the phrases which are characteristic in the benedictions and doxologies. The fact then that none of them occurs elsewhere in the epistles of Paul leads to the conclusion that they are to a certain extent independent of Paul. They belong, that is to say, to a general religious vocabulary which Paul did not create but found already in existence.

But there are also a few phrases in the benedictions and doxologies which are common enough in the epistles, e.g., ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς; ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ; ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου; ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ; πληροῦν; πλεονάζειν.

It must also be noticed that the conceptions which are found in the benedictions and doxologies—if one can speak of definite conceptions in them—are not particularly foreign to Paul; although on the other hand one must also admit that the conceptions peculiar to Paul appear very infrequently in the benedictions and doxologies.

If these facts then are taken together they prove that, although the benedictions and doxologies are to a large

extent separate from the writings of Paul, yet they are not entirely independent of him. Probably we have to conceive something like this: Paul is using phrases common in a circle or in circles apart from him, adding to them, however, expressions of his own, or altering them to suit his particular purpose. A clear recognition of this partial independence of the benedictions and doxologies is particularly important and especially when their significance is being discussed.[1]

(*b*) The conclusion is further strengthened by a consideration of some of the selected passages in their context. It has already been stated that the benedictions and doxologies are often complete in themselves and clear examples of this are found in Rom. xvi, 25–27; Eph. iii, 20, 21; 2 Th. ii, 16, 17; 1 Th. iii, 12, 13; 1 Th. v, 23; Rom. xv, 5, 6.

This completeness of form separates them largely from their context, with which they sometimes have little to do as regards the development of thought. At the same time the motive for the selection of the particular phrases used is often found in the context. A word or a phrase suggests a common expression of blessing or praise with which to conclude the particular section of the letter, and then this benediction or doxology is carried on to its usual completion. Examples of this are as follows:

1 Th. iii, 11–13. In v. 10 occurs the phrase δεόμενοι εἰς τὸ ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὸ πρόσωπον, and the following phrase clearly gives in a short solemn wish the contents of the prayer Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ θεὸς . . . κατευθύναι τὴν ὁδόν ἡμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

Rom. xv, 5, 6. The opening phrase has evidently arisen from the expression in v. 4: διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ διὰ τῆς παρακλήσεως τῶν γραφῶν . . . but the latter part of the formula is independent of the preceding verses.

Rom. xv, 13. The opening expression of this wish ὁ θεὸς

[1] In this connection no importance can be attached to the fact that the majority of optatives used in the epistles occur in the benedictions. The optative is, of course, not used to any large extent in the New Testament. Paul uses the optative twice in hypothesis 1 Cor. xiv, 10; xv, 37; apart from this μὴ γένοιτο occurs several times, and then there are twenty-three other proper optatives, of which twelve are in the Epistles. Of these twelve, eleven occur in the benedictions, Rom. xv, 5, 13; 1 Th. iii, 11; iii, 12; 1 Th. v, 23; 2 Th. iii, 17; iii, 5; iii, 16, and the other one of a different type is in Phm. 20. But these facts cannot be used as evidence that Paul is here using phrases taken from another source, for the usual manner of expressing wishes, even in the Koine, was through the optative. Cf. *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*. J. Moulton, pp. 194–199.

τῆς ἐλπίδος was perhaps suggested to Paul by the word ἐλπιοῦσιν, v. 12, which had just passed through his mind. He uses the common form of the wish, adapting his phrases to the context.

Thus it cannot be said that any one of these benedictions and doxologies is necessary in order to complete the sense of the preceding passage; the motive for a particular phrase may be found in the preceding verses, but in general the benedictions and doxologies can easily be separated from their contexts.

All the facts given, then, show clearly that the benedictions and doxologies are separate from, though not entirely independent of, Paul. They contain phrases which were common in wider circles and which were in all probability well known to the Christian readers and hearers of the letters. At the same time the variety found among the benedictions and doxologies shows that they did not exist in any absolutely fixed forms. They arise out of the personal use of well-known phrases.

The enquiry must therefore now be made concerning the immediate source from which Paul drew these phrases, and a suggestion as to this source can be made at once. In view of the language and character of the benedictions and doxologies the conjecture can be made that they were used in public worship and that it was here that they were made familiar to Paul and the Christians of his day. Certain facts which substantiate this conjecture will now be given.

3. *The immediate source of the benedictions and doxologies.*

In order to establish the conjecture that the benedictions and doxologies in Paul's epistles have their immediate source in worship, it is necessary, first, to emphasize the close connection which existed between the letters of Paul and the public worship, and also the influence which this connection necessarily exercised upon the style and form particularly of certain parts of the letters. This connection between the letters and public worship has often passed unrecognized by interpreters or else has not received sufficient attention. But its importance must be recognized, particularly in view of our increasing knowledge of

early Christian worship, for it serves as a background to the letters, as a factor which has influenced their structure and vocabulary, and consequently as an aid in the elucidation of some difficulties.[1] The facts which justify these statements are as follows :

(*a*) The letters of Paul are not private letters written to an individual. This is seen clearly enough in the sentences of address contained at the beginning of each letter. Many letters are addressed directly to a particular church, e.g., *τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ,* 1 Cor. i, 2; cf. also 2 Cor. i, 1 ; Gal. i, 2 ; 1 Th. i, 1 ; 2 Th. i, 1. Other letters are addressed to *τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ,* Phil. i, 1. Cf. 1 Cor. i, 2 ; Rom. i, 7.

Only one of Paul's letters was written to an individual and bears more the characteristics of private correspondence —the letter to Philemon.[2] Yet this letter, which was written concerning a private affair between Paul and Philemon is addressed to *Φιλήμονι . . . καὶ Ἀπφία . . . καὶ Ἀρχίππῳ . . . καὶ τῇ κατ' οἶκόν σου ἐκκλησίᾳ* and then the usual greeting in the plural is added *χάρις ὑμῖν* . . . This shows that it was the local church which Paul saw, as the recipient of his letters.

(*b*) If the church was the recipient of the letters, then clearly those letters would be read during the gatherings of the Christians. The Early Christians were accustomed to gather together frequently, and at many of these gatherings they undoubtedly heard passages from the Old Testament read to them, and also listened to exhortations from outstanding members, i.e., those gifted with tongues, prophets, etc.

Now Paul must have expected his letters to be read in some such public manner, for all the matters with which he deals are church affairs. He writes to heal divisions and

[1] The importance of worship in the production of early Christian writers has recently been recognized and emphasized by A. B. Macdonald in his interesting book *Christian Worship in the Primitive Church*. On p. 2 he writes : " . . . as we read the New Testament afresh with minds alert for traces of the Worship, we become increasingly aware that though it is not often mentioned, yet it is everywhere present behind the writers, giving form and colour and vitality to their modes of expression and thought ; and ere long we reach the conclusion that their frequent silence regarding worship must be due in great measure to the largeness of the place it filled in their lives."

[2] The Pastoral Epistles are not taken into account here because of the strong probability that they are not of Pauline authorship.

settle disputes, such as occurred at Corinth, or to answer questions concerning the faith such as were raised among the Thessalonians, or to meet opponents in the Christian communities, such as were found in Galatia. All the matters with which Paul deals were matters affecting the church life and the instructions which he gives were clearly to be made known to the members of a particular community. A clear example of this is the manner in which Paul speaks of the collection which he is making for the Christians in Jerusalem. The instructions which he has issued " to the Churches in Galatia " he passes on to the Christians in Corinth, 1 Cor. xvi. They are to make contributions week by week in their gatherings on the first day of the week, that they may be prepared when Paul comes. Such messages are obviously spoken to the whole church.

If, further, we examine the lists of greetings at the end of the letters, we find that many greetings are sent, not merely to a number of individuals, but also to the churches which met at their houses, cf. Rom. xvi, 5 ; Col. iv, 15. Salutations are also given from churches, cf. Rom. xvi, 16; 1 Cor. xvi, 19. The holy kiss, which later became the symbol of Christian fellowship, is also enjoined, Rom. xvi, 16 ; 1 Cor. xvi, 20 ; 2 Cor. xiii, 12 ; 1 Th. v, 26

W. Bauer in his book *Der Wortgottesdienst der ältesten Christen* maintains the improbability that all sections of Paul's epistles should be read publicly in the Christian assemblies, where unbelievers were also present. " Manche Kundgebungen des fernen Paulus mögen auch erst eine Gruppe besonders reifer Gemeindeglieder vorgelesen und von ihr im Verein mit den Leitern besprochen werden sein, ehe die übrigen Gläubigen von ihnen Kenntnis erhielten," p. 63. The reference here, is, of course, to the somewhat delicate situations which arose, for example, in Corinth, but this only touches a few sections of Paul's letters and does not affect the general question under discussion. Nor is it important to determine the issue whether the letters were read in public gatherings of the Christians or in the narrower circle which met for the Lord's Supper.[1]

Now it further seems evident, not merely that the epistles

[1] Cf. *Handbuch zum neuen Testament* an die Römer, H. Lietzmann, p. 127, where further references are given.

were read at some gathering of the Christians, but that Paul also wrote them with the distinct intention that they should be so read. He seemed to regard his letters as in some measure a substitution for his presence and his voice within the particular community, cf. 2 Cor. x, 9–11.

Finally there are two passages in which Paul definitely states that his letters shall be read publicly in the gatherings of the Christians.

Col. iv, 16, *καὶ ὅταν ἀναγνωσθῇ παρ' ὑμῖν ἡ ἐπιστολή ποιήσατε ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῇ Λαοδικέων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγνωσθῇ καὶ τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀναγνῶτε.*[1]

1 Th. v, 27, *ἐνορκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν κύριον ἀναγνωσθῆναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.*

These statements from Paul himself substantiate the conclusions reached from the facts given above, and make it certain, not merely that the letters were read publicly, but that Paul intended them to be read in this manner. This is important because it shows that Paul had the church and also the public gatherings of the church in mind, as his epistles were penned. Through the epistles he himself took part in the worship, and what he would have said, had he been present, is now set down in writing.

(*c*) In this connection then it is significant, that the letters were not written by Paul, but in all probability were dictated by him. At the end of the epistle to the Romans, the writer sends his personal salutation. Rom. xvi, 22; *ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ Τέρτιος ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐν κυρίῳ.* Other letters contain a greeting from the hand of Paul, which suggests that another actually wrote the larger section of the letter. 1 Cor. xvi, 21, *ὁ ἀσπασμὸς τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ Παύλου.* Cf. Col. iv, 18. Also 2 Th. iii, 17, *ὁ ἀσπασμὸς τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ Παύλου, ὅ ἐστιν σημεῖον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ· οὕτως γράφω.*[2]

The dictation of his letters by Paul must have had some influence upon the style of the letters. They will contain all the spontaneity and characteristics of the spoken word. If then Paul dictated, with the gathering of some particular

[1] *ἀναγινώσκω* here means "to read aloud." Cf. Luke iv, 16; Acts xv, 21; xiii, 27; 2 Cor. iii, 15. Also G. Abbot-Smith, *A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament.*

[2] The only letter which may have been written by Paul himself, is Galatians. Cf. Gal. vi, 11: *ἴδετε πηλίκοις ὑμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί*—but this may refer only to the closing section of the letter. Cf. Leitzmann, *Handbuch zum neuen Testament,* Gal., p. 40.

Christian community in mind, we may draw the further conclusion, that he often spoke as though he were actually in that gathering and were taking part in their worship. In other words we may draw the conclusion that the phrases familiar to Paul in his preaching and public prayers will appear in his letters. This conclusion as a matter of fact is supported by the detailed analysis of Paul's letters carried out in the book by R. Bultmann, *Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe.*

The close connection between the epistles of Paul and the Christian worship has now been established ; and the influence of the language and thought developed by Paul in his preaching upon the epistles has been pointed out. One other inference from these facts may reasonably be made. It is, that expressions in common use among the Christians, or even only in that community with which Paul at a particular time is most intimately connected, will appear in the letters. We may presume that certain phrases formed a kind of general religious vocabulary, which Christians were accustomed to use in public worship, and that Paul took over many of these phrases and repeated them in his epistles. And such phrases seem certainly to be contained in the benedictions and doxologies under discussion.

In this connection then the position of these benedictions and doxologies within the letters becomes significant and it is this position that we shall now examine.

(*a*) At the beginning of all Paul's letters is a similar greeting. *χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*

It is often held that this sentence arose through a combination of the Jewish greeting *εἰρήνη ὑμῖν*, with the greeting *χαίρειν* customary in Greek letters, which by the Christians was changed to *χάρις*. But the facts given above lend weight to the suggestion of E. Lohmeyer that the whole phrase was first formulated in the Christian worship and then taken over by Paul into his letters. " So darf man diesen Wunsch als übernommene liturgische Formel betrachten, die vielleicht urchristliche Gottesdienste einleitete."[1] The somewhat liturgical form of the greeting,

[1] E. Lohmeyer, *Z.n.t.W.*, 1927.

expressed in the solemn mention of the Divine Names . . . *θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, points strongly to worship as its place of origin. It may then well be the customary expression used at the opening of worship or at the beginning of a discourse.

(*b*) A similar phrase is found at the end of each letter. This varies much more than the opening phrase, occurring sometimes in a very simple form *ἡ χάρις μεθ' ὑμῶν*, Col. iv, 18, but chiefly in the fuller form *ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν*, 1 Th. v, 28, with but slight variations. Here again the use of a form familiar in the worship is the simplest explanation of these expressions. They may have been added by those who wrote the letters at Paul's dictation, and may be the phrases which these men had heard at the end of Paul's preaching, or with which they were familiar in their respective communities at the end of worship.[1]

(*c*) Many benedictions and doxologies are found in the "Paränese," i.e., in those sections of the letters in which Paul most of all uses material not original with him. The Paränese is "eine fast regellose Folge verschiedener Ermahnungen, die keinerlei Beziehung auf die betreffende Gemeinde haben. Es handelt sich da vielmehr um eine christliche Uberlieferung, die Paulus in der Predigt und ebenso auch im Brief weitergibt."[2] Here then in these passages of exhortation we find many phrases which were in circulation among many Christian circles, and it is significant that in this context several benedictions and doxologies occur. This forms a strong substantiation to the conjecture that the benedictions and doxologies do contain phrases which Paul has taken over from some wider circle.

It must also be noticed that many sections of "Paränese" are closed either with a benediction or a doxology. The significance of this will be suggested after a few examples have been given.

[1] E. Lohmeyer in his Commentary on Philippians, p. 191, writes, regarding the greeting at the beginning and the end of the epistles: "Das ist ein deutliches Zeichen, dass diese Briefe mehr sind und sein wollen als persönliche Schreiben; sie sind vielmehr bestimmt, die mündliche Predigt des Apostels in den Versammlungen der Gemeinde zu ersetzen. Darum darf man vermuten, dass die brieflichen Ein- und Ausleitungen unmittelbar von den Formeln hergenommen sind, mit denen ein urchristlicher Gottesdienst begonnen und beschlossen wurde."

[2] M. Dibelius, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur*. Vol. II, p. 11.

Philippians. In the Paränese three such passages are found, iv, 7 ; iv, 9 ; iv, 19, 20. The first, iv, 7, forms the end of the Paränese, to which iv, 8, 9[a] is added almost as an afterthought, and this is also closed with the blessing iv, 9[b]. Verse 10 begins a new theme, which may well be a conclusion in Paul's own hand[1] and this is closed by the blessing in iv, 19, 20.

1 Thess. The ending here is similar. The Paränese extends to v, 22, is closed by the wish in v, 23 and after a few scattered remarks the letter closes with the usual benediction.

2 Thess. shows the same scheme clearly ; iii, 1 appears to be a preparation for the conclusion of the letter and the end of this section is reached with the blessing in v. 5. Before the letter is concluded, however, a new section, vv. 6–16, is brought in and this is closed by the blessing in v. 16. The letter is then closed in the usual manner.

Romans. It is generally accepted that xiv, 1 to xv, 13 form one complete section of the "Paränese," dealing with the subject of "forbearance towards those who are scrupulous."[2] This section is closed with the blessing in xv, 13. But the latter part of this section, xv, 1–13, has a similar theme, treated in two different ways. In xv, 1–6, the example of Christ who bore reproaches from others is introduced, and this is closed with the blessing in xv, 5, 6. This is followed by a number of scripture quotations which Paul refers to the Gentiles, and then the whole is completed in xv, 13.

xv, 14–32, deals with Paul's personal plans for his journey, and this is closed with the wish in xv, 33.

Another short and independent section is xvi, 17–20, which breaks into the greetings. This short section is closed by v. 20 which in form is similar to other wishes.

These examples show that Paul often ended a passage of exhortation with a sentence of blessing or promise. This, we may conclude, was not merely a custom which appeared in his letters, but reveals itself there, because Paul often ended his spoken exhortations in this manner in the Christian gatherings. Thus once again we are led back to the

[1] M. Dibelius. *Handbuch zum N.T.* Phil., p. 73. "eigenhändiger Schluss."
[2] I.C.C. *Romans.* W. Sanday and A. Headlam, p. 383.

worship to supply the explanation of this habit. As, further, much of this exhortation was common to all Christian circles and not peculiarly Pauline, it is probable again that many phrases in the benedictions and doxologies also came to Paul from this wider circle.

(*d*) A few expressions from the benedictions and doxologies still remain to be considered, and these occur chiefly in that section of the letters known as the "proem," i.e., the section immediately following the opening address and greetings. The proem in all the letters shows similarities and it is probably that section of the letters, which more than any other, at least in its language, is under the influence of the public prayers of the Apostle. Events and plans are only mentioned in a general fashion, and much of the vocabulary is exalted. "Die Feierlichkeit der Sprache und die bewusste Allgemeinheit der Worte . . . ist die Sprache des Gebetes, die in Dank und Bitte feierlich erklingt."[1]

The following quotations from the proem point to a close connection with prayer :

εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ, Rom. i, 8 ; 1 Cor. i, 4 ; Phil. i, 3 ; Col. i, 3 ; 1 Th. i, 2 ; 2 Th. i, 3 ; Phm. 4.
ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει μου ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν, Phil. i, 5.
περὶ ὑμῶν προσευχόμενοι . . . Col. i, 3.
μνείαν σου ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου, Phm. 4.
ὡς ἀδιαλείπτως μνείαν ὑμῶν ποιοῦμαι πάντοτε ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου, δεόμενος . . . Rom. i, 10.

We have here also examples of the language in which prayer was made. Cf. 1 Th. i, 3–5 ; 2 Th. i, 11–12 ; Phil. i, 9–11 ; Col. i, 9–11 ; Phm. 5–6. The phrases in these passages are similar in vocabulary and form, and there can be little doubt that the exalted language which is used is the language of prayer, and in all probability of Paul's public prayers.

Now, that no slight connection exists between the proem and the passages of benediction and doxology, the presence of a few of these passages in the proem and the likeness of their vocabulary to that of the proem, shows. This will be seen in the following examples.

[1] E. Lohmeyer. *Philippians*, p. 13.

The proem in 2 Cor. begins (i, 3) : *εὐλογητος ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως, ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν. . . .*

Ephesians begins similarly (i, 3) : *εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ . . .*

The proem in 1 Th. ends with a series of phrases which are very similar to those found in the benedictions and doxologies, 1 Th. i, 10, *καὶ πῶς ἐπεστρέψατε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ καὶ ἀναμένειν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὃν ἤγειρεν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν Ἰησοῦν τὸν ῥυόμενον ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς ἐρχομένης.*

Similar also is the ending of the proem in 2 Th. i, 12, *ὅπως ἐνδοξασθῇ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*

Mention may finally be made of 1 Cor. i, 9 : *πιστὸς ὁ θεὸς, δί οὗ ἐκλήθητε εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησου Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.*

Sufficient evidence has now been given to show clearly the close connection which exists between the proem and the passages of benediction and doxology. The fact then that the proem reflects the language and expressions which Paul used in his public prayers, brings still more evidence that these passages of blessing and praise issued from worship.

(*e*) There remain still four passages, which were given in the list of benedictions and doxologies, and these are found in what may be described as the main sections of the letters, i.e., the sections in which Paul is chiefly concerned with the exposition or application of his teaching. These four passages must now be considered.

1 Th. iii, 11–13. The position of these two wishes is significant. With iv, 1 the last section of the letter, the "Paränese" begins, i.e., iii, 11–13 marks the end of the main section of the letter. It has been shown above that Paul often ended a section of a letter with a similar wish, and here it is clear that vv. 12 and 13 form such a conclusion. v. 11 is connected with the context, but in 12 and 13 the thought moves away from the concrete situation to a general

wish, expressed in all probability in well-known phrases.

2 Th. ii, 16–17. Between the main section of this letter and the closing exhortations, occurs the short section contained in ii, 13–17. These verses, with their opening thanksgiving and exalted language are very similar to the style of the proem and separate themselves sharply from the preceding apocalyptic section. Thus once again a wish, ii, 16, 17, closes a definite period in the letter.

Eph. iii, 20, 21. These verses also stand at the close of the main section of the letter, for with iv, 1 the Paränese begins, and their purpose is evidently to provide a solemn and impressive conclusion to this main section.

Rom. 11, 33–36. These verses form the conclusion to chaps. ix–xi in which Paul has discussed the problem of the unbelief of Israel and the Divine sovereignty. This is actually more in the nature of a rhetorical ending, but it issues into a doxology in v. 36, which is clearly used to form a fitting conclusion to the whole.

Thus it is clear that even those benedictions and doxologies which occur in the main sections of the letters are not connected at all closely with the development of the thought, but are used merely to bring sections to a close in a fitting and impressive manner.

This examination of the position of the benedictions and doxologies in the epistles of Paul has shown quite clearly then that they are not essential to the thought of the epistles and that they can be separated quite easily from their context. They are used chiefly to provide a fitting conclusion to the various sections of the letters. This use, and the nature of those parts of the letters in which they occur most frequently, point to the Christian worship as the place of their immediate origin. Before continuing now into the discussion concerning the significance of the benedictions and doxologies both in worship and in the epistles of Paul, the results to which the foregoing analysis have led must be set forth.

4. *The results of the analysis*

(*a*) The close connection which existed between the letters of Paul and the public worship in the Christian communities has been established, and in view of this fact

and of the evidence which has been given there can be little doubt that the passages of benediction and doxology had their immediate origin in the worship. But with this, it is not maintained that there were certain developed and set expressions of blessing and praise in the worship—as in the nature of a prescribed liturgy—and that Paul has simply used these prescribed sentences in his letters. It is obvious that at this early stage in the development of Christian worship, no such consciously developed and prescribed sentences existed. It is maintained simply that in the passages of benediction and doxology we have examples of the common forms in which blessing and praise in the Early Church was expressed, and also some expressions, e.g., titles for God and Christ, which were often used for this purpose.

Further, it cannot yet be maintained that such phrases were general among all the Christian communities, but only among those with which Paul had connections, i.e., chiefly the communities in the Hellenistic world.

(*b*) From this it follows that any attempt to arrive at the significance of the benedictions and doxologies must treat them first of all in view of this connection with the worship. Prior to their significance in the letters of Paul is their significance in worship. A clear recognition of this attachment to the wider life of worship before their appearance in the letters of Paul is the necessary condition of any attempt to give the significance of the benedictions and doxologies. We have first of all to seek the motive which caused their use in worship, and then to understand the purpose which they served. Only after this has been made clear, can an explanation of their significance in Paul's letters be given, and an attempt to explain some inherent difficulties be made. This primary condition the next section will endeavour to fulfil, and during its discussion a glimpse into one side of the Early Christian worship and its development will be given.

(*c*) Before this discussion can commence, however, there is one further result of considerable importance to be drawn from the given evidence. It is clearly recognized to-day that not all the sections of Paul's letters have an equal value, as sources for the theology of Paul. And the bene-

dictions and doxologies occur chiefly, as has been shown, in those sections which may be described as non-theological, i.e., at the opening and closing of the letters, in the general proem, or in the passages of exhortation, the " Parănese." Even these benedictions and doxologies which are found in the main sections, in which Paul does set forth his theological conceptions, are used in such a manner that they clearly do not continue the thought, but serve merely as a fitting conclusion. It must be repeated that the passages of benediction and doxology are self-contained expressions, separating themselves often from their context. They contain forms of speech which were in general use in the religious vocabulary of the Christians and which were not necessarily original with Paul.

Consequently it must be emphasized that any attempt to see in these benedictions and doxologies proofs or substantiation for the theological conceptions of Paul is not justified. They separate themselves sharply from Paul's theological expositions.

The importance of this will be seen in regard to certain passages in the benedictions and doxologies, on the basis of which continued attempts have been made to prove that Paul held certain doctrines ; such passages are Rom. ix, 5 ; 1 Th. v, 23 ; 2 Cor. xiii, 13. In regard to all these, and other passages the question must always be asked, whether Paul intended to express any particular conception of his when he wrote or dictated these particular words, and all the evidence which has been given shows that he did not. An exposition of these passages will be attempted on this basis, in the last chapter of this thesis.

But if Paul took over many expressions of blessing and praise from the religious vocabulary common among the Christians of his day, the question may be asked, to what extent may the benedictions and doxologies be used to demonstrate theological conceptions current in the Early Church during and also before the activity of Paul ? To this question an answer similar to that above may be given. The origin of the benedictions and doxologies in worship lessens their theological importance considerably. They represent that side of Christian life which was to a large extent static.

This is the common characteristic of the liturgical side of all religion. The conceptions of men change with the growth of knowledge and with the variation of experience. But in the liturgical forms to which they have grown accustomed men are conservative. The Roman Catholic and the Anglican Churches are examples of the manner in which a set liturgy is repeated by each succeeding generation, though since their formation theological conceptions have changed considerably. And even in those Churches where there is no set liturgy, we find a religious vocabulary —phrases and sentences—which men are accustomed to use in public worship. These expressions are not spontaneous creations, they are the heritage of one generation to the next. A man may be opposed to much of the faith of his father, or he may express that faith in fresh terms, but let him engage in public prayer and he will use many expressions which his fathers used. In the more devotional parts of worship familiar phrases come easily to the mind, and we are all loth to dispense with these familiar phrases.

This general truth of all religious life is a reminder of the proper use of the benedictions and doxologies among the Early Christians. Here we may expect to find phrases to which the Early Christians were accustomed and many of these phrases will have been familiar to them before they became Christians. With these passages they do not intend to express the fundamental convictions of their new faith. This is the devotional side of their worship and the facts to be given later prove that many expressions are the remains of the earlier faith of these Christians. Expressions made familiar to them in the religious life of their previous days could not be eradicated entirely when they accepted the new faith. In this they are simply illustrating a fact common in all religious life.

With the results of the analysis thus set forth and emphasized, we may now proceed to the discussion of the significance of the benedictions and doxologies in Early Christian worship, and also of the sources from which they were derived.

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BENEDICTIONS AND DOXOLOGIES

1. *The invocation of the Divine Name in Early Christian Worship*

In order to establish the significance of the benedictions and doxologies one further fact, resulting from the foregoing analysis, must be noticed. One feature is common to both benedictions and doxologies, that is the mention of the Divine Name. This in itself would not, of course, be particularly noticeable, but the manner in which this is done is important. Large parts of the passages consist entirely of titles for God and Christ, and these full, solemn titles must be noticed. Examples of such titles are :

ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
θεὸς πατὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.
ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.
ὁ θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν.
ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης, τῆς παραγλήσεως, της ἐλπίδος, etc.

In this connection, two features are striking :

(*a*) The dominant position which the mention of God or Christ has in all the benedictions and doxologies ;

(*b*) The solemn liturgical manner in which this is carried out.

This fact having been mentioned, we turn now to the Early Christian worship, in which the invocation of the Divine Name played no small part. The almost magical use of the Divine Name in healings and miracles was a universal phenomenon in the ancient world and has been discussed on many occasions.[1] No less important, however, was the position of the Divine Name in Early Christian worship, as the following facts show.

In Col. iii, 17 is the exhortation from Paul, πᾶν ὅ τι ἐὰν ποιῆτε ἐν λόγῳ ἢ ἐν ἔργῳ, πάντα ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ πατρὶ δι' αὐτοῦ.

[1] W. Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu*, especially pp. 172–257.

M. Dibelius[1] interprets this as referring to the prayer which accompanied all parts of one's daily activity, agreeing with W. Heitmüller that this general interpretation is justified by the quotation from Chrysostom *ἐὰν ἐσθίῃς, ἐὰν πίνῃς, ἐὰν γαμῇς, ἐὰν ἀποδημῇς, πάντα ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ θεοῦ πρᾶττε· τουτέστιν αὐτὸν καλῶν βοηθόν*. That the invocation of the Divine Name in the ancient world was used in daily life in this manner, is proved further by the following quotations from the Mandean literature.

G.R. 19. "Bei eurem Stehen und eurem Sitzen, bei eurem Gehen und eurem Kommen, bei eurem Essen und eurem Trinken, bei eurem Ruhen und eurem Liegen, überhaupt bei allen euren Handlungen nennet und preist den Namen des Hohen Lichtkönigs." Cf. also p. 36.

Johannesbuch 225. "Bei deinem Eintritt und deinem Austritt siehe du, dass du deinen Herrn nicht vergessest. Bei deinem Stehen und deinem Sitzen siehe du, dass du deinen Herrn nicht vergessest. Bei deinem Gehen und deinem Kommen siehe du, dass du deinen Herrn nicht vergessest. Bei deinem Ruhen und deinem Liegen siehe du, dass du deinen Herrn nicht vergessest."

But though this conception cannot be denied, it seems much more likely that the reference in Col. iii, 17 is to worship than to the daily life. It is certain that vv. 16 and 17 belong closely together for v. 18 commences a new section—the "Haustafel"—and 5–15 is a separate section which has been built up according to a definite method.[2] In v. 16 Paul is undoubtedly thinking upon the proceedings in worship. Note the expression *ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ* "die Christuspredigt" (Dibelius), *διδάσκοντες, ψάλμοι, ὕμνοι, ᾠδαί πνευματικαί*. All these activities were well known in the Early Christian worship, cf. 1 Cor. xiv, 26. The word *εὐχαριστοῦντες* in v. 17 can then refer to the thanksgiving offered in the community of Christians, and this is a common use of the word.

The first half of v. 17 can also be well explained according to this view, for *πᾶν ὅ τι ἐὰν ποιῆτε*, etc., would then mean that each act or part of the worship should be conducted under the invocation of the name of the Lord Jesus. *ἐν λόγῳ*

[1] *Handbuch zum N.T.* Kolosserbrief.
[2] Cf. M. Dibelius, *Handbuch zum N.T.*

καὶ ἐν ἔργῳ[1] is then an adequate description for all the activities of worship, i.e., the vocal activities, e.g., prayers and preaching, and the ceremonies, e.g., baptism and eucharist.[2]

The similar passage in Eph. v, 19, 20 has changed the words thus εὐχαριστοῦντες πάντοτε ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ, but this does not provide evidence against the above interpretation of Col. iii, 17.

According to this exposition, then, Paul is exhorting the Christians at Colossae to perform all the separate acts of worship under the invocation of the name of Jesus, and evidently this invocation of the name was counted as of considerable importance. Now we know from other evidence concerning Early Christian life, that the invocation of the name of Jesus did play a large part, especially in the acts and ceremonies connected with worship. There can be no doubt about this, if the following quotations are examined, which show how many activities were accompanied by the invocation of the name of Jesus.

The assembling of the Christians.

1 Cor. v, 4. ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ συναχθέντων ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πνεύματος . . . Here it must be noticed that " ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι wird durch die Wortstellung zu συναχθέντων ὑμῶν, nicht zu παραδοῦναι gewiesen." (Lietzmann. *Handbuch zum N.T.* 1 Kor.), and therefore we must translate " when you are gathered together in the name of the Lord Jesus. . . . "

Matt. xviii, 20. οὗ γάρ εἰσιν δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν. Though this verse is attributed to Jesus, it may well reflect the custom of the Christians. The phrase εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα = " under

[1] ἐν λόγῳ καὶ ἐν ἔργῳ was evidently a common expression among the Early Christians, for it occurs six times in the New Testament, but with different meaning. In 2 Cor. x, 11 and 1 Jno iii, 18 the words point merely to a contrast; in 2 Th. iii, 17, they mean simply the Christian life. In Lk. xxiv, 19 and Rom. xv, 18 they are used probably for " preaching and miracles " and in Acts vii, 12 the meaning is similar, for here they refer to the law and miracles of Moses. The exposition given above is therefore permissible according to the use of the phrase.

[2] W. Bousset in *Kyrios Christos*, 2nd ed. 1921, p. 86, puts forward the same suggestion in regard to Col. iii, 17, that Paul is here thinking " an die Vorgänge im gottesdienstlichen Leben der Christen," and that these activities receive their Christian character through the invocation of the name of Jesus Christ.

invocation of my name,"[1] i.e., the gathering of the Christian communities is accompanied by the invocation of the name of Jesus.

Baptism.

Acts ii, 38. *μετανοήσατε καὶ βαπτισθήτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνομάτι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*

Acts x, 48. *προσέταξεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ βαπτισθῆναι.*

Acts xix, 5. *ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἐβαπτίσθησαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ.* Cf. also Acts viii, 16; xxii, 16.

Matt. xxviii, 19. *βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.*

Anointing with oil.

James v, 14. *προσκαλεσάσθω τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ προσευξάσθωσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀλείψαντες ἐλαίῳ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου.*

Prophesying.

Matt. vii, 22. *κύριε, οὐ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι ἐπροφητεύσαμεν.* Once again this may well be a reflection of a custom common in the Christian communities.

Speaking with tongues.

Mark xvi, 17. *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου δαιμόνια ἐκβαλοῦσιν γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν καιναῖς . . .*

This verse occurs in the later ending xvi, 9–16, which was attached to Mark's gospel, and so there is every reason to think that this also reflects a Christian custom. That both prophesying and the speaking with tongues were definitely a part of the worship, we learn from 1 Cor. xiv.

Teaching.

Acts v, 28. *παραγγελίᾳ παρηγγείλαμεν ὑμῖν μὴ διδάσκειν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ.* Compare also Acts iv, 18. Teaching was also a part of worship (see 1 Cor. xiv, 26) though, of course, the word cannot be confined merely to this.

Prayer.

John xiv, 13. *καὶ ὅ τι ἂν αἰτήσητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου . . .*

John xiv, 14. *ἐάν τι αἰτήσητέ με ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου.*

[1] "Unter Anrufung des Namens"—so W. Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu*, p. 114. A fuller discussion of the meaning of these words is given overleaf.

John xv, 16. ἵνα ὅ τι ἂν αἰτήσητε τὸν πατέρα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου.

John xvi, 24. ἕως ἄρτι οὐκ ᾐτήσατε οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου.

Eph. v, 20. εὐχαριστοῦντες πάντοτε ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

A general name for the Christians seems also to have been οἱ ἐπικαλουμένοι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (naturally with small variations).[1] Compare 1 Cor. i, 2 ; Rom. x, 13 ; Acts ix, 14, 21 ; 2 Tim. ii, 22

It is not surprising that this custom of invoking the name of Jesus, if it obtained for all parts of the worship, is not mentioned also in regard to other proceedings of the worship, which are not named in the above list, for no passage of the New Testament is intended to provide a description of worship. The familiar proceedings of the worship are rather the background against which many allusions were made and become clear.

Now it is necessary to raise the question concerning the exact meaning of the phrase ἐπὶ or ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, which so far has been taken to refer to the invocation of the name. Is this translation justified ? The usual translation is " in the name of Jesus "—a phrase which does not carry any particular significance, but which is used in the Authorized and Revised versions and also in the modern translations made by Weymouth and Moffatt. But a much more precise meaning is given, when we translate " under invocation of the name."

The justification for this translation has been given in the book by W. Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu.* After an exhaustive discussion of many passages, including most of those quoted above, he writes on p. 88 : " in allen diesen mannigfachen Verbindungen . . . haben unsere Formeln in Uebereinstimmung mit dim Sprachgebrauch der semitischen Gräcität (Septuag. und Verwandte) die gleiche Grundbedeutung, die nur wenig durch das jeweilige Verbum und den Zusammenhang nuanciert wird, nämlich : bei, unter bezw. durch Verwendung, das ist Nennung, Aus-bezw.

[1] ἐπι καλέω here, of course, means to " call upon " or to " invoke "—so G. Abbot-Smith *A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament.* That is Christians are described as those who are accustomed to invoke the name of Jesus Christ.

Anrufung des Namens." As regards the expression εἰς τὸ ὄνομα he writes on p. 121 in reference to Acts viii, 10; xix, 5: "aber das wird allerdings zu sagen sein, dass er (der Verfasser) εἰς τὸ ὄνομα im wesentlichen synonym mit ἐν, ἐπὶ τ. ὀν. gebraucht und wir werden daraus zu schliessen haben, dass für ihn das Moment der Namennennung bei dem Begriff εἰς τὸ ὄνομα noch mehr in den Vordergrund gerückt ist." These clear statements of Heitmüller's, which are based on the exhaustive evidence given in his book, leave no doubt as to the significance of the phrase. The translation "by invocation of the name of Jesus" is therefore justified.

This means then, that all the proceedings mentioned in the given passages, proceedings common in Early Christian worship, were done under invocation of the name of Jesus. The interpretation suggested for Col. iii, 17 thus receives its confirmation and one may draw the following important conclusion. The custom obtained in the early Church of accompanying each act of worship with an invocation or mention of the sacred Name. This conclusion is also in its turn evidence for the importance which was attached to the sacred Name in worship.[1]

But although the name was thus important in the Christian worship, it is not easy to determine, from Christian sources alone, the manner in which this invocation was made and the significance which attached to the forms of invocation. For the elucidation of this question other types of worship will be examined, which influenced, or were contemporary with the New Testament period. In the discussion of these types of worship an attempt will be made to exhibit the forms in which invocation of the Divine Name was made, and also attention will be drawn to the significance which attached to these forms.

The types of worship which come into consideration are:

1. Worship as revealed in the Old Testament, with special reference to the Psalms. In order to establish parallels with passages in the New Testament it is necessary to use the Greek text of the Septuagint, and this is justified in view of its influence upon and use by Paul and the Early Christians.

[1] Cf. W. Bousset *Kyrios Christos*, pp. 84–91.

2. The worship of the synagogue, and also as revealed in Jewish literature.

3. The cult forms evidenced in the writings of the Mandeans.

4. Worship in the Hellenistic world. (This is not discussed so fully, for reasons given later.)

Supplement

It has been generally accepted that the Septuagint exercised an influence upon the New Testament writers and that it was used in the public worship of the Early Christians. It has further been accepted that the worship was formed to a large extent on the basis of the familiar synagogue worship. In the examination of the worship of the Old Testament and of the synagogue, planned above, both these positions have been assumed, but this assumption needs a word of justification, in view of the fact that it has recently been questioned by W. Bauer in *Der Wortgottesdienst der ältesten Christen*.

W. Bauer doubts the use of the Septuagint among the communities in which Paul was active on the following grounds—the communities could not purchase a copy on account of the high price, and there are only a few quotations from the Old Testament in the epistles of Paul. "Nirgends in den paulinischen Briefen wird auf gottesdienstliche Anagnese des A.T. hingedeutet."

An effective answer to this criticism has been given by M. Dibelius in his review of Bauer's book in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1931, vol. XIII. He points out that Paul presumes a large knowledge of the Old Testament among Hellenistic Christians ; that a relation to the Old Testament occurs quite early in the body of Christian teaching, and that the story of the Passion is unintelligible, if one does not presume that Psalms xxii and lxix, Is. liii, etc., in Greek, were read as the first "Passionsgeschichte."

Regarding the synagogue, W. Bauer writes, "der Einfluss der Synagoge ist für die spätere Zeit mit Händen zu greifen, für die älteste Entwicklung auf heidnischem Boden bezweifle ich ihn, weil mir hier nichts Vergleichbares vorhanden zu sein scheint." Then he points out that in 1 Cor. xiv only the "amen" is reminiscent of the synagogue worship.

But against that it can be said that 1 Cor. xiv is not intended to be a description of Early Christian worship, but gives regulations for the disorders which were occurring in the worship of the Corinthian Christians. Consequently the silence of Paul is no proof that customs learnt in the synagogue were not practised by the Christians. Prayers, reading, discourses—the chief parts of the synagogue worship—were least calculated to produce disorders, and so did not need mention.

On the positive side M. Dibelius has pointed out that the prayers of the Didache, the concluding prayer of the first Letter of Clement, the hymns in Lk. i and "manche offenbar ursprünglich jüdische Lieder in der Apokalypse" quite clearly show a connection between the synagogue and Early Christian worship. In regard to the hymns found in Revelation, which in all probability reflect the type of hymn used in the worship of the Early Christians, H. Leitzmann in *Geschichte der alten Kirche*, Vol. I, p. 152, writes that the majority (Rev. iv, 8, 11 ; xv, 3–4 ; xi, 15, 17, 18 ; vii, 10, 12) are not "etwa Nachahmungen jüdischer Vorbilder, sondern wirklich jüdische Hymnen ohne jede christliche Eigenart." He adds "es wäre sinnlos, sie als christliche Neuschöpfungen ansehen zu wollen, sondern sie sind augenscheinlich Hymnen, die in griechischen Diasporasynagogen in Gebrauch waren und von den Christen übernommen worden sind. Nach diesen Vorbildern sind dann eigene christliche Hymnen gedichtet worden (xii, 10–12 ; xix, 1–2 ; v, 6–8)."

Thus the Septuagint and the synagogue worship may legitimately be used in connection with Early Christian worship, and the results to be shown later will offer further substantiation of this connection.

2. *Forms of Invocation and their Significance in types of worship apart from Christianity*

(*a*) THE OLD TESTAMENT

The general significance attaching to the Divine Name in the Old Testament has often been set forth clearly,[1] and

[1] F. Giesebrecht *Die alttestamentliche Schätzung des Gottesnamens.*
H. Schmidt R.G.G., 1913, 659–661.
T. Cheyne *Encyclopaedia Biblica* 3264–3270.

there is no need to repeat the discussion here. But the dominant place which the Divine Name possessed in the cult life must be noticed. From the earliest times on, the acts of the religious life, e.g., the building of altars, were done under invocation of the Divine Name, and, what is more important, this invocation was regarded as an essential part of the act, without which it had no validity. The following quotations will show how many religious acts were thus accompanied by this invocation :

Altars were built under invocation of the Name. Gen. xii, 8 ; xiii, 4 ; xxvi, 25 ; 1 Kings xviii, 24.

The altar then becomes a dwelling place of the Name. Ex. xx, 24 ; Dt. xii, 3 ; Jer. vii, 12.

Holy places and objects of worship are connected with the Name. Gen. xxi, 33 ; 2 Sam. vi, 2.

Priests exercised their functions in the Name. Dt. x, 8 ; xviii, 5, 7 ; Mal. ii, 2 ; 1 Chron. xxiii, 13.

The Temple was built in the Name and the Name dwells there. 1 Kings viii, 17, 22 ; ix, 3 ; 2 Chron. ii, 1 ; Jer. vii, 10.

Public blessing was given in the Name. 2 Sam. vi, 18 ; Num. vi, 22–27 ; 1 Chron. xvi, 2 ; xxiii, 13 ; Ps. cxxix, 8 ; Dt. x, 8 ; xxi, 5.

Praise is in the Name. 1 Chron. xvi, 8, 10 ; Ps. lxiii, 5 ; and to the Name. 1 Chron. xvi, 35 ; xxix, 13 ; Ps. vii, 17 ; lxxii, 19.

It will be noticed that the majority of the quotations given are from those books which were written either under the influence of the Deuteronomic reformation or later than that period. For the period before this, the evidence for the use of the Divine Name is sparse. It seems as though this was a custom which received its impulse largely from the Deuteronomic reformation and from that time onward was a prominent feature of the Jewish religion. This will not appear surprising, if we consider the attempt of the reformation to centralize all worship in the Temple at Jerusalem, which was regarded as the unique abode of Yahweh. Consequently every act of worship performed in the Temple must have some direct reference to Yahweh, indeed the validity of the ritual depended on the presence of Yahweh, and according to ancient thought,

that presence could be ensured by calling upon His Name.

A passing reference must therefore be made to the conception, common among primitive peoples, that a close association exists between name and personality. The invocation of the name causes the activity of its bearer or results in his presence. "Das gottesdienstliche Rufen bewirkt die Präsens der Numens."[1] The conception was common also among the Jews—hence it was possible for them to say that Yahweh's "Name" dwelt in the Temple, for Name was inseparable from the Being himself. Consequently when the presence of Yahweh was thought to be confined merely to the Temple at Jerusalem, the invocation of His Name became a necessary and important part of the Temple ritual. Then later, with developing ideas concerning Yahweh's holiness, His Name itself became too holy to use, except by the priest on special occasions.

But enough has been said to indicate the importance of the invocation of the Divine Name in the various forms of worship. It is more important to set forth the forms in which this invocation was made. In what manner did the Israelites call upon the Name of Yahweh?

In Ex. xxxiii, 7 ff. an event of great importance in the cult life is being related and the climax is xxxiv, 6 where the Divine Name is revealed, according to the account by Yahweh himself. But it seems likely that the following words were used to call upon Yahweh at some solemn moment in the worship. *κύριος ὁ θεὸς* (Heb. יהוה יהוה) *οἰκτείρων καὶ ἐλεήμων, μακρόθυμος καὶ πολυέλεος καὶ ἀληθινός καὶ δικαιοσύνην διατηρῶν καὶ ἔλεος εἰς χιλιάδας, ἀφαιρῶν ἀνομίας καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ ἁμαρτίας καὶ οὐ καθαριεῖ τὸν ἔνοχον, ἐπάγων ἀνομίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα καὶ ἐπὶ τέκνα τῶν τέκνων ἐπὶ τρίτην καὶ τετάρτην γενεάν.* Here is clearly an attempt to express the Divine Name in liturgical manner and the means of accomplishing this may be noticed. The fulness of expression is obtained chiefly by the addition of participial clauses, e.g., *οἰκτείρων καὶ ἐλεήμων, δικαιοσύνην διατηρῶν, ἀφαιρῶν ἀνομίας : . . ἐπάγων ἀνομίας πατέρων.*

An example from a later time is given in 1 Kgs. viii, 23. Here also a great religious event in the life of the people is

[1] F. Giesebrecht *idem*, p. 121.

being described, viz., the building and dedication of Solomon's Temple. The original account has undoubtedly been expanded by the compiler, particularly with the long prayer of dedication. The opening of this prayer is as follows : *κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραήλ, οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς σὺ θεὸς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω, φυλάσσων διαθήκην καὶ ἔλεος τῷ δούλῳ σου τῷ πορευομένῳ ἐνώπιόν σου ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἃ ἐφύλαξας τῷ δούλῳ σου Δαυεὶδ τῷ πατρί μου· καὶ γὰρ ἐλάλησας ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν χερσίν σου ἐπλήρωσας ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη.* Then follow the requests. This invocatory opening is made up of a number of phrases describing Yahweh's activities or attributes ; and the parallel prayer in 2 Chron. vi, 16 has a similar opening. One may then rightly conjecture that public prayers were often commenced with praises expressed in this manner.

In 1 Kgs. viii, 56 occurs a blessing which was pronounced over the people and which commences thus : *εὐλογητὸς κύριος σήμερον, ὃς ἔδωκεν κατάπαυσιν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐλάλησεν· οὐ διεφώνησεν λόγος εἷς ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, οἷς ἐλάλησεν ἐν χειρὶ δούλου αὐτοῦ Μωυσῆ.* Only after this sentence of praise has been uttered does the real blessing follow. *γένοιτο κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν καθὼς ἦν μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν· μὴ ἐγκαταλίποιτο ἡμᾶς μηδὲ ἀποστρέψοιτο ἡμᾶς, ἐπικλῖναι καρδίας ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοῦ πορεύεσθαι . . .*

Similarly in 1 Kgs. viii, 14 it is said that the king blessed all Israel, and the blessing which he gave commences again with words of praise. *Εὐλογητὸς κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ σήμερον ὃς ἐλάλησεν ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ περὶ Δαυεὶδ τοῦ πατρός μου* But then we find that any blessing of the people is missing altogether. These two passages suggest therefore that it was not uncommon for the blessing to be preceded by a sentence of praise. Then this sentence of praise may be described as an enlarged invocation.

An example of a blessing, in which the invocation of the Divine Name is particularly important, though expressed very simply, occurs in Num. vi, 25–27—the Priest's Blessing. This passage appears to give us a consciously developed blessing, which could be used only by the priests. The whole passage from v. 22 must be quoted. *καὶ ἐλάλησεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν λέγων· λάλησον Ἀαρὼν καὶ*

τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ λέγων Οὕτως εὐλογήσετε τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ λέγοντες αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἐπιθήσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα μου ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐγὼ κύριος εὐλογήσω αὐτοὺς

> *Εὐλογήσαι σε Κύριος καὶ φυλάξαι*
> *καὶ ἐπιφάναι Κύριος τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ ἐλεήσαι σε*
> *ἐπάραι Κύριος τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ δῴη σοι εἰρήνην.*

The importance of the Divine Name in blessing is apparent in this passage. *Κύριος* is the translation for יהוה, and the pronouncing of this sacred Name formed the most important part of the benediction. We notice how the passage emphasizes that the benediction means a laying of the Divine Name on the people, and where this is done Yahweh's actual blessing will follow. Here the close connection which existed in primitive thought, between the name and the personality is very clear, so that the pronouncing of the Name in the benediction calls forth the Divine activity, and this activity will make the blessing a reality.

The use of the aorist optative in active mood is to be noticed in this Priest's Blessing in connection with the benedictions of the New Testament.

In all the passages which have now been given the invocation of the Divine Name is an important feature ; and in all, except the last quoted passage from Num. vi, this invocation is effected through long sentences of praise. Furthermore all these passages were clearly connected with great moments in the acts of worship. Even where later additions have been made by an editor to earlier accounts, e.g., in Solomon's dedication of the Temple recounted in I Kgs. viii, these additions undoubtedly reflect customs common in worship at the time of the editor. The great cult acts of the past which he is recounting, are enlarged by the addition of customs and ceremonies familiar to him. These passages then are connected directly with worship, but there are other passages also, which in consequence of their similarity to those quoted, seem to be connected in some way with worship. Also in view of their structure and their use in their present context one would suggest worship as their natural place of origin. Three such passages are found in Amos :

iv, 12—13. πλὴν ὅτι οὕτως ποιήσω σοι, ἑτοιμάζου τοῦ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν θεόν σου Ἰσραήλ. διότι στερεῶν βροντὴν καὶ κτίζων πνεῦμα καὶ ἀπαγγέλλων εἰς ἀνθρώπους τὸν χριστὸν αὐτοῦ ὁ ποιῶν ὄρθον καὶ ὁμίχλην, ἐπιβαίνων ἐπὶ τὰ ὕψη τῆς γῆς· Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὄνομα αὐτῷ.

It is interesting to notice here that the Hebrew word לִקְרַאת = "to meet" in v. 12, has been read by the translator as לִקְרֹאת and so rendered ἐπικαλεῖσθαι. The following verse is actually an invocation of the name of Yahweh and so this translation has a clear meaning.

v, 8, 9. ὁ ποιῶν εἰς ὕψος κρίμα, καὶ δικαιοσύνην εἰς γῆν ἔθηκεν· ὁ ποιῶν πάντα καὶ μετασκευάζων καὶ ἐκτρέπων εἰς τὸ πρωὶ σκίαν, καὶ ἡμέραν εἰς νύκτα συσκοτάζων· ὁ προσκαλούμενος τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐκχέων αὐτὸ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς· Κύριος ὄνομα αὐτῷ.

ix, 5, 6. καὶ κύριος κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ἐφαπτόμενος τῆς γῆς καὶ σαλεύων αὐτήν καὶ πενθήσουσιν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτήν, καὶ ἀναβήσεται ὡς ποταμὸς συντέλεια αὐτῆς, καὶ καταβήσεται ὡς ποταμὸς Αἰγύπτου· ὁ οἰκοδομῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνάβασιν αὐτοῦ, ὁ προσκαλούμενος τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐκχέων αὐτὸ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς· Κύριος παντοκράτωρ ὄνομα αὐτῷ.

An examination of these passages shows that they have little connection with their context. They do not grow out of the preceding thought. Each is a separate and complete passage in itself with its climax clearly in the last clause κύριος ὄνομα αὐτῷ. This makes the purpose of these passages clear, and it is the mention of the sacred Name יהוה. But the bare mention of the Name is enlarged by many expressions of praise in which Yahweh's attributes or activities are set forth. This is done largely by means of participial phrases, and the participles are often joined with the article thus forming as it were a title, e.g., ὁ ποιῶν . . . κρίμα, ὁ ποιῶν πάντα, v, 7; ὁ προσκαλούμενος τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐκχέων αὐτὸ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς, v, 8, ix, 6; ὁ ἐφαπτόμενος τῆς γῆς; ὁ οἰκοδομῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνάβασιν αὐτοῦ, ix, 5.

There can be scarcely any doubt that these passages are intended to form an invocation of the name of Yahweh, and this invocation is effected by means of passages of praise in which no doubt familiar expressions were adopted and a

familiar structure used. All this points to the familiar worship as the place of origin.

But this habit of breaking into a passage with the mention of the Divine Name, accompanied by many elaborate expressions of praise is not confined to Amos. Similar passages are found elsewhere, particularly in 2 Isaiah.

Is. xlvii, 4, *ὁ ῥυσάμενος σε κύριος σαβαώθ, ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἅγιος Ἰσραήλ.*

Is. xlii, 5 ff., *οὕτως λέγει Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ πήξας αὐτὸν, ὁ στερεώσας τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ διδοὺς πνοὴν τῷ λαῷ τῷ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς καὶ πνεῦμα τοῖς πατοῦσιν αὐτήν. ἐγὼ Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐκάλεσά σε . . . ἐγὼ Κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦτό μου ἐστιν τὸ ὄνομα, τὴν δόξαν μου ἑτέρῳ οὐ δώσω οὐδὲ τὰς ἀρετάς μου τοῖς γλυπτοῖς.*

Jer. l, 24 (Sept. xxvii, 24), *καὶ ὁ λυτρούμενος αὐτοὺς ἰσχυρός Κύριος παντόκρατωρ ὄνομα ἀυτῷ.*

Is. liv, 5. *ὅτι Κύριος ὁ ποιῶν σε κύριος σαβαὼθ ὄνομα αὐτῷ· καὶ ὁ ῥυσάμενός σε αὐτὸς θεὸς Ἰσραήλ, πάσῃ τῇ γῇ κληθήσεται.*

Is. li, 15. *ὅτι ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς σου ὁ ταράσσων τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἠχῶν τὰ κύματα αὐτῆς Κύριος σαβαὼθ ὄνομά μοι.*

Is. lvii, 15. *τάδε λέγει ὁ ὕψιστος ἐν ὑψηλοῖς, κατοικῶν τὸν αἰῶνα, Ἅγιος ἐν ἁγίοις ὄνομα αὐτῷ, ὕψιστος ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος.*

All these passages certainly bear similarities in structure and form ; and the purpose of them all seems to be the same, viz., the mention of the Divine Name. Consequently they must be examples of a common usage and of familiar phrases. We have to look to a wider sphere for their origin than that represented by the individual authors of the different books in which they appear. Everything points to worship, with which they were all familiar, as that wider sphere. "Und fragt man, wann und wo sie gebraucht wurden, so kann die Antwort nicht zweifelhaft sein : im Kultus bei der Verherrlichung des Gottes Israels."[1]

An interesting example of this habit of adding expressions of praise where the sacred Name is mentioned, and a proof that this habit was general also among the Jews of the Diaspora, is given in Hosea xiii, 4. The Hebrew text reads וְאָנֹכִי יהוה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם. The Septuagint, however, contains the fuller form *ἐγὼ δὲ κύριος ὁ θεός σου, στερεῶν τὸν*

[1] F. Giesebrecht, *idem*, p. 30—quoted from his discussion of these passages.

οὐρανὸν καὶ κτίζων γῆν, οὗ αἱ χεῖρες ἔκτισαν πᾶσαν τὴν στρατείαν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ οὐ παρέδειξά σοι αὐτὰ τοῦ πορευέσθαι ὀπίσω αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐγὼ ἀνήγαγόν σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου.

When we turn now to the Psalms, we find that the invocation of the Divine Name is of frequent occurrence. More important, however, is the manner in which this invocation is made, for here also invocation is often expressed in the form of accumulated titles and expressions of praise. The frequent use of participial clauses is also apparent. Now the Psalter has been described as the hymnbook of the synagogue, and there was undoubtedly a very close connection between the worship of the Temple and of the synagogue, and the growth of the Psalter. We may conclude that the Psalms contain many phrases rendered familiar in worship and that they reflect many habits of speech which were developed in worship. A few quotations will show the frequency of expressions of praise.[1]

xvii, 47 ff.

ζῇ Κύριος καὶ εὐλογητός ὁ θεός μου
καὶ ὑψωθήτω ὁ θεὸς τῆς σωτηρίας μου
ὁ θεὸς ὁ διδοὺς ἐκδικήσεις ἐμοί
καὶ ὑποτάξας λαοὺς ὑπ' ἐμέ
ὁ ῥύστης μου ἐξ ἐχθρῶν ὀργίλων
. . . . .
διὰ τοῦτο ἐξομολογήσομαι σοι ἐν ἔθνεσιν Κύριε
καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι σου ψυλῶ.

lxxxv, 9, 10.

πάντα τά ἔθνη ὅσα ἐποίησας ἥξουσιν
καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου Κύριε
καὶ δοξάσουσιν τὸ ὄνομά σου·
ὅτι μέγας εἶ σὺ καὶ ποιῶν θαυμάσια
σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς μόνος ὁ μέγας

lxxxv, 12.

ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι Κύριε ὁ θεός μου ἐν ὅλῃ καρδιᾷ,
καὶ δοξάσω τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

cii, 1 ff.

εὐλόγει ἡ ψυχή μου τὸν κύριον
καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐντός μου τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ

[1] The benedictions which are found at the end of the five books into which the Psalter was divided, are not mentioned in these quotations, because they are undoubtedly later insertions and rightly belong to the later Judaism.

εὐλόγει ἡ ψυχή μου τὸν κύριον
καὶ μὴ ἐπιλανθάνου πάσας τὰς αἰνέσεις αὐτοῦ
τὸν ἐπιλατεύοντα πάσαις ταῖς ἀνομίαις σου
τὸν ἰώμενον πάσας τὰς νόσους σου
τὸν λυτρούμενον ἐκ φθορᾶς τὴν ζωήν σου
τὸν στεφανοῦντά σε ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτειρμοῖς
τὸν ἐμπιμπλῶντα ἐν ἀγαθοῖς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν σου.

That the translator of this passage regarded it particularly as an expression of praise is shown especially clearly by the translation of the Hebrew word גְּמוּלָיו in v. 2 with *αἰνέσεις*.

ciii, 1 ff.

εὐλόγει ἡ ψυχή μου τὸν κύριον
Κύριε, Κύριε, ὁ θεός μου, ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθης σφόδρα
ἐξομολόγησιν καὶ εὐπρέπειαν ἐνεδύσω
ἀναβαλλόμενος φῶς ὡς ἱμάτιον,
ἐκτείνων τὸν οὐρανὸν ὡσει δέρριν·
ὁ στεγάζων ἐν ὕδασιν τὰ ὑπερῷα αὐτοῦ,
ὁ τιθεὶς νέφη τὴν ἐπίβασιν αὐτοῦ,
ὁ περιπατῶν ἐπὶ πτερύγων ἀνέμων
ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα
καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον.

cxii.

Αἰνεῖτε παῖδες Κύριον
αἰνεῖτε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.
εἴη τὸ ὄνομα κύριου εὐλογημένον
ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος.

. . . . .

τίς ὡς Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν;
ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν,
καὶ τὰ ταπεινὰ ἐφορῶν
ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ
ὁ ἐγείρων ἀπὸ γῆς πτωχόν
καὶ ἀπὸ κοπρίας ἀνυφῶν πένητα

. . . . .

ὁ κατοικίζων στεῖραν ἐν οἴκῳ
μητέρα τέκνων εὐφραινομένων.

cxlvi, 1 ff.

αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον ὅτι ἀγαθὸν ψαλμός
τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν ἡδυνθείη αἴνεσεις

οἰκοδομῶν Ἰερουσαλὴμ ὁ κύριος
καὶ τὰς διασπορὰς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπισυνάξει
ὁ ἰώμενος τοὺς συντετριμμένους τὴν καρδίαν,
καὶ δεσμεύων τὰ συντρίμματα αὐτῶν·
ὁ ἀριθμῶν πλήθη ἄστρων
καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα καλῶν
μέγας ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν
καὶ μεγάλη ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτοῦ
καὶ τῆς συνέσεως αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμός.

Sufficient quotations have now been given to prove the points which have been made, and it will be well, before proceeding further to gather these points together. It has been shown first of all that the invocation of the Divine Name was of considerable importance in the worship of the Israelites. This is only to be expected in view of the close connection which existed between name and personality in primitive thought, and also in the thought of the Israelites, but the examples which have been given, will, it is hoped, have made the importance of this in the worship clearer. Then the manner of invocation has been illustrated. It has been shown that this was expressed through an accumulation of sentences of praise many of which are similar to each other, both in structure and vocabulary. Finally it has been shown that expressions of blessing were closely connected with praise, and that also in blessing the Divine Name was invoked and formed an important section of the benediction. One question still remains to be answered and that is the question concerning the significance of these facts. The following paragraphs will be an attempt to give an answer to this question.

The significance is derived in part from the general conception of the Divine Name in the Old Testament. The Name is often regarded almost as independent of Yahweh, although one cannot speak of an independent being or existence, for the Name is not personified. But the Name is regarded as capable of activity, and this activity invariably follows its invocation. The activity of the Name can also occur both for good and evil in the lives of men, i.e., the Name is a definite power operative in human life and called into activity by the worshipper.

Consequently blessing—and also cursing—obtain a

very realistic content.[1] The Priest's blessing Num. vi, 24–27, is actually a laying of the Name on the people, i.e., the central feature of the benediction is the mention of the Divine Name, thus calling forth its activity and making the wish effective. Accordingly the origin of the blessing would seem to be a short invocation of the sacred name, followed by a wish. " Die ursprünglichen Gebete sind als elementarer Ausdruck von Affekten durchgedrungene Knappheit und kraftrolle Kürze ausgezeichnet. Sie enthalten nur die Anrufung der Gottheit um eine klagende Frage, einen kurzen Hilfruf oder eine schlichte Bitte." "Ursprünglich bestand das Gebet nur in der Anrufung und dem Hilfruf oder der Bitte."[2]

The invocation of the Name remains important for the validity of the blessing—hence blessing " in the Name "—but the Name and the wish gradually are placed together to form a " krafterfülltes, selbstwirkendes Wort."[3] The blessing is thus actually a communication of the power of the Name.

This action, according to which the power of the Name is called down upon men, is reversed in the conception of praise. The increasing importance of the Divine Name in the cult life of the Old Testament attached a deeper significance to praise. Consequently with the development and elaboration of worship, the tendency to praise Yahweh was strengthened and much of this praise took the form of an accumulation of titles. This particular form of praise seems thus to have served the purpose of increasing the Name, of making the Name great, i.e., of enlarging the divine power or " glory." Compare Ps. xxix, 1 f. and also xxx, 9–12, in which the Psalmist prays for life and justifies his request by saying that the purpose of living is to praise Yahweh, for the dead cannot praise him, i.e., praises are necessary to Yahweh.[4]

In Ps. xxxiv, 2 ff. and l, 14, 15 praise is regarded as a substitute for sacrifice. This comparison is very important,

[1] Cf. Lyder Brun, *Segen und Fluch*, especially pp. 6–13.

[2] F. Heiler, *Das Gebet*, p. 50.

[3] S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* v. *Segen und Fluch in Israels Kult und Psalmdichtung*, 1924.

[4] Cf. also Ps. vi, 5 concerning which Cheyne in *Enc. Bib.* writes, " the worshippers are needful to Yahwe because the divine life would lack some touch of perfection without the tribute of reverent and grateful praise. . . . "

for one clear purpose of sacrifice was to increase or magnify the divine power. In the light of this v. 15 is significant

וּקְרָאֵנִי בְּיוֹם צָרָה אֲחַלֶּצְךָ וּתְכַבְּדֵנִי

(and cf. also v. 23).

Ps. lxix, 30, 31, further shows this connection between sacrifice and praise, and a similar conception is found also in the following passages, Ps. cvi, 47 ; lxxxvi, 9–12; xcvi, 7 ; Is. xii, 5–6; Mal. ii, 2.

One fact which we have noticed now becomes intelligible in the light of this conception of the invocation as magnifying the Name. A definite and clear reason is given for the accumulation of titles, which occur in the passages quoted above and also in many long passages of praise, e.g., in the Psalms.

From 1 Kgs. viii, 55; viii, 14 it is also clear that a close connection existed between praise and blessing, and that expressions of praise were often used to introduce a benediction. Cf. also Ps. lxvii. This connection gives us then the conception that the power of the Name, which has been increased by means of praise, is communicated through the benediction. "Der Kult ist nicht nur die Handlung, durch die Segen auf den Einzelnen appliziert wind, sondern zugleich das Mittel, durch das der Segen gesteigert und neue Segenskräfte geschaffen werden."[1]

The central feature in all this, however, and the thought from which these ideas seem to have arisen, was the conception of the Name. Fundamental in praise and blessing, and productive of the ideas which attached to these, was the realistic conception of the Divine Name. In process of time this conception was partially spiritualized, and with that development went also a change in the accompanying ideas.

A further word must be added before this section reaches its conclusion. In close connection with the conception of the Divine Name found in the Old Testament and illuminating for its explanation in the use of the word כבוד,

[1] S. Mowinckel, *idem*, p. 23. On p. 29 he writes : "Diese Doppelheit : man segnet die Gottheit, damit diese wieder mit grösser Wirkung segnen könne, ist deutlich in der Segensformel Gen. xiv, 19 ff. ausgesprochen :
"Gesegnet sei Abraham von El Elyon, dem Schöpfer des Himmels und der Erde
Und gesegnet sei El Elyon, der deine Feinde in dein Hand gegeben."

δόξα. The two words שֵׁם and כָּבוֹד were used to denote different aspects of the divine appearance in the holy places. Gradually שֵׁם was confined exclusively to the Temple in Jerusalem, while כָּבוֹד always retained a wider significance, so that it could be said that the divine glory filled the land, Num. xiv, 22, 23; Ps. lxxxiv, 10, or the whole earth Ps. lvi, 6–12; lxxi, 19.

Nevertheless the glory was also connected with the divine appearance in particular holy times or places. The glory dwelt on Sinai, Ex. xxiv, 16; it filled the Tabernacle, Ex. xl, 34; xxix, 43; Lev. ix, 6, 23; Num. xiv, 10; xvi, 19–42; xx, 7; it was in Solomon's Temple, 1 Kgs. viii, 11; 2 Chron. v, 14, vii, 1–3; Is. vi, 1; the Temple which Ezekiel saw in his vision, would be filled with the glory, Ez. xliii, 4–5; xliv, 4.

The glory which was thus so closely connected with the holy places, was regarded in quite a realistic manner. In the early accounts the glory is seen by all the people in a cloud, Ex. xvi, 7, 10; xxiv, 16; xl, 34; Num. xvi, 42. Compare also the dedication of Solomon's Temple in 1 Kgs. viii, 10–11. Sometimes the glory is conceived as fire, Ex. xix, 9; xvi, 18; xxiv, 17; xl, 35–38; Deut. v, 24; or also as light, Ex. xxx, 33 ff.; xxxiii, 22; Is. lx, 1 ff. These conceptions were later spiritualized, 1 Chron. xxix, 12; Ps. xxiii, 8–10; lxii, 3; ciii, 31; cxii, 4. But in these passages the glory is also the object of praise, and this praise is often described as a bringing or giving of glory, i.e., the praise of the worshipper is regarded as כָּבוֹד. By this means the divine glory is strengthened and increased, 1 Chron. xvi, 28; Ps. xxviii, 1–2; xcv, 7, 8; Is. xlii, 2; Jer. xiii, 16.

Thus in this particular conception, the two ideas of Name and glory are united, for praise is often directed either to the Name or to the glory of the Name. The glory of the Name is mentioned in Ps. lxxviii, 9; xxviii, 2; xcvi, 8; Is. xlii, 8; and the conception of bringing glory to the Name or to the glory of the Name is found in Ps. xxviii, 1, 2; lxv, 2; xcv, 8; Neh. ix, 5; Mal. ii, 2. The glory and the Name are further closely connected in Ex. xxxiii, 18, 19; xxxvi, 5; and in Ps. lxxii, 19; cii, 14 ff.; Is. v are used as parallel expressions.

There are then only small differences between these two conceptions, that of the Name and that of the glory ; often they are interchangeable. By means of praise one brings glory and thereby the divine glory is increased ; in exactly the same way can it be said, thereby the Name is magnified—that is only another way of expressing the same fundamental conception.

Praise and blessing thus played an important part in the worship of the Old Testament for through them the power and ability of the divinity to help his worshippers was influenced. All this springs from the central conception of the Divine Name and its invocation. So with the significance of praise and blessing in the Old Testament established, we may pass on to their form and significance in the later development seen in Judaism.

(*b*) THE SYNAGOGUE AND JUDAISM

The sources for our knowledge of the synagogue worship in the first century of the Christian era are not abundant. The Mishnah contains but little material which can be used for this purpose—even the tractate "Berachoth," which would seem to bear most of all on the subject under discussion, contains but meagre information.

But the life and worship of the synagogue cannot be separated from the influence of the Old Testament, for in many respects this finds its continuation in the synagogue. Judaism grew out of the religion of the Old Testament, and although undoubtedly foreign conceptions, chiefly Persian and Greek, were taken over into Judaism through its constant connection with the outside world, nevertheless the chief influence remained that of the Old Testament, the reading of which formed one of the chief proceedings in the worship of the synagogue. Consequently ideas which are found in the Old Testament may be expected also in the religion of the synagogue, though maybe in a developed or modified form. One may presume the possibility, therefore, that the conceptions of praise and blessing found in the Old Testament will have influenced the worship of the synagogue. If furthermore the phenomena occurring in the worship are the same as those of the Old Testament this fact may be taken as certain.

In the discussion of the Old Testament it has been seen that the conceptions of praise and blessing are most fully illustrated in the Psalms. But in view of the late authorship of many psalms, of their constant use in the Temple ritual, and also of their use in the worship of the synagogue, they form a bridge from the worship of the Old Testament to that of Judaism. It is thus probable that the conception so illustrated in the Psalms will provide an explanation for certain usages of the synagogue worship. To what extent the Psalms were used in the worship of the synagogue during the Early Christian period it is hardly possible to say with certainty. W. F. Moore writes that " . . . it would seem natural that with other features of the Temple worship, the songs of the Levites at the morning and evening sacrifices should be imitated in the synogogue. The first group of psalms to be so employed was Ps. cxlv–cl ; but it appears that in the middle of the second century the daily repetition of these psalms was a pious practice of individuals rather than a regular observance of the congregation."[1] On the contrary W. Bousset maintains : " Vom Tempelkult aus haben dann die Psalmen ihren Weg in den Gottesdienst der Synagoge gefunden. Wir können hier zwar im Einzelnen für unsere Zeit nicht mehr nachweisen, aber der reichliche Gebrauch der Psalmenliteratur macht wahrscheinlich, dass auch schon im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter der Psalter seine Verwendung in der Synagoge fand. Jedenfalls entfaltete er seinen mächtigen Einfluss auf das alltägliche Leben der Frömmigkeit."[2] Hirsch[3] presumes that the psalms were used in the synagogue at an early period and W. Oesterley[4] agrees with him. Whatever the exact facts may be, it is evident that the Psalms were constantly used in private, and by this means their influence would undoubtedly be seen also in public worship.

An examination now of the available material shows that praise and blessing, not merely in a general form, but in this special " liturgical " form which has been noticed in the Old Testament, did play a large part in the worship, and, indeed, in the whole life of the Jew at that time. The

[1] W. F. Moore, *Judaism*, Vol. I, p. 296.
[2] W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*, p. 374.
[3] *Jewish Encyclopaedia* X, 247b.
[4] W. Oesterley, *The Jewish Background to the Christian Liturgy*, 73–76.

importance indeed of this form of praise and blessing will be realized, when it is remembered that each act of the synagogue worship was introduced or concluded with such phrases. The following paragraphs are an attempt to show how each part of worship was accompanied by an appropriate benediction ; and the importance which these possessed.

At the beginning of the Sabbath worship in the synagogue the Shema (שְׁמַע) was recited. This, however, was preceded by the benediction יוֹצֵר, which was as follows :[1]

" Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who formest light and createst darkness, who makest peace and createst all things, who givest light in mercy to the earth and to those who live thereon, and in goodness renewest every day continually the work of the creation. Be Thou blessed, O Lord our God, for the excellency of the work of Thy hands, and for the bright luminaries which Thou hast made ; let them signify Thee. Blessed art Thou O Lord who formest the luminaries." Participial clauses are here abundant.

After the benediction, but also before the Shema, followed the prayer אהבה, which, though it does not bear so strongly the liturgical nature of the benedictions, is quoted here on account of the conceptions contained in it, to which reference will be made later.

" With great love hast Thou loved us, O Lord our God, with great and overflowing pity hast Thou pitied us ; Our Father, our King, for our fathers' sake who trusted in Thee, and whom Thou didst teach the statutes of life, be gracious unto us too and teach us. Enlighten our eyes in Thy law, and let our hearts cleave unto Thy commandments, and unite our hearts to love and fear Thy Name, that we may never be put to confusion. For a God that worketh salvation art Thou, and us hast Thou chosen from every people and tongue, and hast brought us near unto Thy great Name in faithfulness, to give thanks unto Thee and to proclaim

[1] The translation of this and other prayers of the synagogue given in the following paragraphs, is taken from W. Oesterley's book, *The Jewish Background to the Christian Liturgy*. The reason for adopting this translation is that he endeavours to give the text which probably existed and was used at the beginning of the Christian era.

Thy unity in love. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who choosest Thy people Israel in love."

After the recitation of the Shema, a prayer (גְּאֻלָּה) was offered in these words : " True and constant, established and enduring, right and faithful, beloved and precious, desired and pleasant, awe-inspiring and mighty, well-ordered and acceptable, good and lovely is this word unto us for ever and ever. True it is, that the God of the universe is our King, the Rock of Jacob, the shield of our salvation. To generations and generations He endureth and His Name endureth. And His throne is established and His kingdom and His faithfulness endure for ever. And His words are living and enduring, faithful and desirable for ever and unto the ages of ages for our fathers and for us ; for our children and for our generations and for the generations of the seed of Israel Thy servants.

" True it is that Thou art He who art the Lord our God, and the God of our fathers ; our King and the King of our fathers ; our Redeemer and the Redeemer of our fathers, our Maker and the Rock of our salvation ; our Liberator and our Deliverer from everlasting ; that is Thy Name ; there is no God beside Thee."

A long prayer follows this opening passage of praise and the whole prayer is then concluded thus : " With a new song did the redeemed praise Thy Name on the sea-shore ; with one accord did they give thanks and acknowledge Thy kingship and said ' The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.'

" O Rock of Israel, arise to the help of Judah and deliver, according to Thy promise, Judah and Israel. Our Redeemer, the Lord of Hosts is His name, the Holy One of Israel. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who hast redeemed Israel."

After the recitation of the Shema and its accompanying benedictions the " Eighteen Prayers " (שְׁמוֹנֶה עֶשְׂרֵה) were offered, and these formed the chief prayer of the synagogue worship. Indeed, these prayers were regarded as so important that attempts were made by certain rabbis to enforce their recitation, not merely in worship, but also in daily life.[1] The noticeable characteristic of these prayers is the large part which expressions of praise occupy.

[1] Berachoth iv, 3.

Some complete sections are devoted to magnifying the Divine Name, and each of the eighteen separate prayers ends with a benediction. Quotations from the first three sections of the prayer offer typical examples of this praise.

"Blessed art Thou, O Lord, our God and the God of our fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, the great God, the mighty and tremendous, the most High God. . . . Blessed art Thou, O Lord, the shield of Abraham."

"Thou art mighty for ever, O Lord; Thou restorest life to the dead, Thou art mighty to save; who sustainest the living with beneficence, quickenest the dead with mercy. . . . Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who restorest the dead."

"Thou art holy and Thy Name is holy and there is no God beside Thee. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, the God most holy."

In addition to the Shema and the "Eighteen Prayers" an important part of the worship consisted in reading two passages from the Old Testament, one from the Pentateuch, the other from the Prophets. "Meg. iv, 2: Wer die Tora lektion beginnt und wer sie schliesst, spricht (der eine) vorher und (der andere) nachher eine Benediktion. So die ältere Praxis. Der Lobspruch vorher wurde eingeleitet mit den Worten des Vorlesers: Lobet Jahwe, den Hochgelobten, und die Gemeinde antwortet: Gelobt sei Jahwe, der Hochgelobte, immer und ewiglich."[1]

The last section of the worship was the discourse, and this was followed by the prayer Qaddish. "Magnified and hallowed be His great name in the world which He created according to His will.

"May He establish His kingdom in your life-time and in your days and in the life-time of all the house of Israel speedily and in a near time. And say ye Amen.

"May His great name be blessed for ever and to all eternity."[2]

The evidence which has now been given shows quite clearly that each section of the synagogue worship was accompanied by numerous expressions of praise addressed

[1] Strack u. Billebeck, *Kommentar zum N.T. aus Talmud und Midrasch,* Vol. IV, Part 1, p. 159. Cf. also W. Moore, *Judaism,* Vol. I, p. 302.

[2] Cf. also Oesterley, *idem,* p. 72.

to God. The frequency with which these benedictions and doxologies appear, and the similar manner of the construction of them all reflects the importance with which they were regarded, and shows how widespread their use must have been. It has been rightly said that "nothing is more sriking in the Jewish liturgy than the regular recurrence of formulas of Blessing or Benediction (Heb. berakah). These regularly accompany the performance of religious duties positively enjoined in the Law (e.g., the binding on of the phylacteries) and also played an important part in the liturgy itself."[1] How important that part was, the above examples will have shown. "The characteristic notes of the Synagogue prayers are Praise and Thanksgiving . . . the former element being emphasized by the doxology which concludes every prayer."[2]

Is it possible now to offer any explanation of these facts?

(*a*) The Old Testament background offers at once an intelligible and illuminating explanation. In the course of the religious development towards Judaism, the Divine Name had been raised to an even more exalted position; which resulted in its gradual disuse, except by the priests. The conception of holiness in regard to Yahweh was developed, until even His name was too holy to be uttered. Consequently the custom gradually became prominent in Judaism, of using substitutionary names. These names were then multiplied and often placed together with phrases expressing the divine attributes. Examples of these names are: *θεὸς, κύριος ὕψιστος*; *θεὸς ζῶν*; *θεὸς αἰώνιος, ἀθάνατος*. The Divine Names employed in the earlier compositions are those of the Bible. In later Rabbinical forms, however, periphrastic designations are common, the most frequent being "The Holy One, blessed be He." . . . Other forms of address found are "Our Father," "Our King," "The Merciful."[3]

"Mit besonderer Vorliebe braucht man umständlichere und zusammengesetzte, liturgisch formulierte Ausdrüche."[4]

[1] W. Oesterley and G. Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, p. 362.

[2] W. Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*, p. 72.

[3] W. Oesterley and G. Box, *idem*, p. 357.

[4] W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*, p. 312. Compare also pp. 311–313, where many of these designations are printed, together with many quotations from Jewish literature in substantiation.

Further examples of this are : Lord of Heaven, God of Heaven, Lord of Glory, Lord of Lords, King of Kings, God of Gods. Also abstractions were used, e.g., The Heaven, The Height, The Glory, The Great Majesty.

The tendency which produced these cumbrous names, when mention of the Divine was made, is also the same tendency which produced the many long passages of praise and doxologies, which we have found in the synagogue worship. Both offered a means of attributing praise to the Divine Name. The accumulated body of praise which was created through the constant use of such titles and such doxologies may then be regarded as increasing the glory or power of the Divine Name.

It has already been shown that in the Old Testament a close connection existed between שֵׁם and כָּבוֹד ; in the later development into Judaism the conception of glory was spiritualized, and then glory was used as a substitutionary designation for the Divine Name. Sir. xvii, 3 ; Tob. iii, 6 ; Test. Levi, iii. In the syngaogue and literature of the Mishnah, however, this conception was more often expressed with the word שְׁכִינָה. The significance which attached to this word has been well expressed by Bousset. " Schechina bedeutet das Wohnen, d.h. das Wohnen Gottes und ist die Bezeichnung des sich im Tempel oder in der Stiftshütte offenbarenden Gottes, wie denn auch geradezu vom Glanz, der von Gottes Angesicht ausgeht, geredet wird," " Es heisst häufig, die Herrlichkeit der Schechina, die Schechina der Herrlichkeit."[1] " This association of the Presence with the manifestation of (the Lord's) glory in depths of light led . . . to the conception of the Presence (Shekinah) itself, in such connections, as light."[2] It is further taught in the Mishnah[3] that where ten men are gathered for prayer, there is the Shekinah.

Here then the Old Testament ideas of glory are continued and developed, being changed into more spiritual forms and losing much of their materialism. The long passages of praise may thus be regarded as giving glory, i.e., as in some way increasing the glory of the Presence. It is true that this conception is not found directly in the prayers of

[1] W. Bousset, *idem*, p. 115. [2] W. F. Moore, *Judaism*, Vol. I, p. 435.
[3] Aboth. III, 6.

the synagogue, but that need not surprise us, for those prayers do not profess to offer explanations for their form. From the forms which the prayers present we have to work backwards towards the explanation. And the explanation which has been given is rendered probable by the development from the Old Testament, and is found clearly in the later books of the Old Testament, e.g., Psalms, 2 Isaiah, Nehemiah, Daniel.[1]

(*b*) From the actual prayers of the synogogue also certain facts may be concluded.

It is clear that the Divine Name was still regarded as of significant importance in worship, as it was earlier in the Old Testament. This is shown in a sentence from the prayer " Geullah." " True it is that Thou art He who art the Lord our God, the God of our Fathers ; our King and the King of our Fathers ; our Redeemer and the Redeemer of our Fathers . . . that is Thy name." The whole passage in this prayer seems indeed to be an endeavour to mention the Divine Name in as full a manner as possible, i.e., to magnify the name. Similar also is the end of the prayer : " Our Redeemer, the Lord of Hosts, is His name, the Holy One of Israel." This is clearly a continuation of a custom, examples of which are found in Isaiah, e.g., xlii, 8 ; xlvii, 4 ; xlviii, 2; li, 15 ; liv, 5 (see p. 51). Significant in this connection is also the climax of the opening section (1–3) of the Shemoneh Esreh : " Holy art Thou and Thy Name is to be feared, there is no God beside Thee. Blessed art Thou Yahweh, the Holy God." Finally the whole synagogue service was ended with the prayer which is essentially connected with the Name, the Qaddish. " Magnified and hallowed be His great Name in the world. . . . " " May His great Name be blessed for ever and to all eternity."

These passages show that praise was often offered to the Divine Name, and the thought, apparent in the Old Testament, seems also reflected here, that praise magnifies the Name. Certainly this idea comes more clearly to expression in the prayer " Ahabah " : " . . . so hast Thou chosen us from every people and tongue and hast brought us near unto Thy great Name in faithfulness to give thanks unto Thee and to proclaim Thy unity in love."

[1] Compare the quotations given from these books on pp. 67-71.

(*c*) But this does not exhaust the evidence which can be produced for the existence of these conceptions in Judaism. Reference has hardly been made to the literature which was produced within Judaism immediately preceding and during the New Testament period. It is true that this literature is not directly connected with the synagogue and with worship, still it does give us valuable evidence for contemporary Jewish thought. The quotations, which will be given, have been selected chiefly from the examples of prayer found in this literature and these quotations will show the same characteristics which have been noticed above. The emphasis upon the Divine Name is found frequently, and with this is often combined the conception of glory, the invocation of the Name precedes many prayers and this is effected by means of abundant expressions of praise and an accumulation of titles, which have the purpose also of giving glory and of magnifying the Name. These are all familiar ideas.

Now it is probably not possible to decide to what extent the prayers found in this literature, had their origin in the worship of the synagogue. We cannot suppose that they reflect prayers actually used in that worship, but the fact that their form and often their phraseology is that of the synagogue prayers which are known to us, does make it probable that they are at least modelled upon public prayers. They reflect the same mode of praying and the same conception of prayer as the prayers actually used in the worship. The possibility that at an early date in the development of the synagogues extempore prayer was used, cannot be entirely excluded, and this extempore prayer would be modelled on familiar lines and would use familiar expressions. Men are always conservative in their prayers and easily fall back upon the familiar. The prayers which later became fixed and prescribed in the synagogue worship seem to have grown out of such a practice, for they are undoubtedly of gradual growth and increased before they reached their present form.

Before examples of these prayers are given, however, the benedictions which occur at the end of the books of the Psalter must be mentioned. These benedictions were undoubtedly included at the end of the development of the

Psalter and therefore belong much more to Judaism than to the Old Testament. In each of these benedictions we find mention of the Divine Name, and their purpose can hardly have been other than the placing of the Divine Name in exalted language at the end of each book.

xli, 14

εὐλογητὸς Κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ
ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα,

lxxi, 18–20

εὐλογητὸς Κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραήλ, ὁ ποιῶν θαυμάσια μόνος,
καὶ εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ
εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος.

lxxxviii, 53

εὐλογητὸς Κύριος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

cv, 48

εὐλογητὸς Κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ
ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος.

This type of expression, though bearing rather less the nature of a fixed formula, is found frequently as the invocation at the beginning of prayers. Examples of this are as follows :

Dan. iii, 52 ff. This is the prayer attributed to the three companions as they were in the fire. The prayer is not found in the Hebrew text. In the Greek the prayer is described as glorifying God *τότε οἱ τρεῖς . . . ὕμνουν καὶ ἐδόξαζον καὶ εὐλόγουν τὸν θεὸν* . . . and it begins thus :

εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν
καὶ αἰνετὸς καὶ ὑπερυψούμενος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας·
καὶ εὐλογημένον τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δόξης σου τὸ ἅγιον,
καὶ ὑπεραινετὸν καὶ ὑπερυψωμένον εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας·
εὐλογημένος εἶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς ἁγίας δόξης σου,
καὶ ὑπερυμνητὸς καὶ ὑπερένδοξος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
εὐλογητὸς εἶ ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης τῆς βασιλείας σου . . .

Then the rest of the prayer consists of sentences beginning with *εὐλογεῖτε*. In view of the opening sentences the purpose of this can hardly have been other than that of increasing the name, or the glory—or *τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δόξης*. A feature significant in this connection is then the heightening of the adjectives by means of the constant use of *ὑπὲρ*.

Tobit iii, 11–15. The opening of this prayer is similar: *εὐλογητὸς εἶ κύριε ὁ θεός μου καὶ εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἔντιμον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· εὐλογησαισάν σε πάντα τὰ ἔργα σου εἰς τον αἰῶνα.* This prayer is then described as being heard before the "glory of God."

Tobit viii, 5–7. *εὐλογητὸς εἶ ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν καὶ εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἔνδοξον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.*

Cf. also Tobit viii, 16–17 ; xi, 14, 15.

This form of praise and also this emphasis upon praise to the Divine Name is also found in the Book of Enoch.[1]

Enoch xxxix : "In those days I praised and extolled the Name of the Lord of the Spirits with blessings and praises, because He hath destined me for blessing and glory according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits. For a long time my eyes regarded that place and I blessed Him and praised Him saying, 'Blessed is He and may He be blessed from the beginning and for evermore. And before Him there is no ceasing. He knows before the world was created what is for ever and what will be generation to generation.' Those who sleep not bless Thee, they stand before Thy glory and bless, praise and extol saying 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Spirits, He filleth the earth with Spirits.' And here my eyes saw all those who sleep not ; they stand before Him and bless and say 'Blessed be Thou and blessed be the Name of the Lord for ever and ever'."

Enoch lxxxiv. "Blessed be Thou, O Lord King
Great and mighty in Thy greatness
Lord of the whole creation of the heaven
King of kings and God of the whole world."

Enoch lxiii : "Blessed is the Lord of Spirits and the Lord of kings
and the Lord of the mighty and the Lord of the rich
and the Lord of Glory and the Lord of wisdom
and splendid in every secret thing in Thy power from generation to generation
and Thy glory for ever and ever."

This last quotation illustrates also another common

[1] These and the following quotations are taken from the translations made by R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament.*

form of praise, viz., that in which different titles for the Divine are placed together. A further example of this is given in the prayer which occurs in Enoch ix. "Lord of lords, God of gods, King of kings (and God of the ages), the throne of Thy glory (standeth) unto all generations of the ages and Thy Name holy and glorious and blessed unto all ages! Thou hast made all things, and power over all things hast Thou; and all things are open and naked in Thy sight and Thou seest all things and nothing can hide itself from Thee. . . ."

Similarly does the prayer in 2 Macc. ii, 2–20 open: *κύριε κύριε, βασιλεῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ δέσποτα πάσης τῆς κτίσεως, ἅγιε ἐν ἁγίοις, μόναρχε, παντοκράτωρ, πρόσχες ἡμῖν καταπονουμένοις ὑπὸ ἀνοσίου καὶ βεβήλου, θράσει καὶ σθένει πεφρυασμένου. συ γὰρ εἶ ὁ κτίσας τὰ πάντα, καὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν· δυνάστης δίκαιος εἶ, καὶ τοὺς ὕβρει καὶ ἀγερωχίᾳ τι πράσσοντας κρίνεις.*

2 Macc. i, 24–26: *κύριε ὁ θεός, ὁ πάντων κτίστης, ὁ φοβερὸς καὶ ὁ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ δίκαιος καὶ ἐλεήμων, ὁ μόνος βασιλεὺς καὶ χρηστός, ὁ μόνος χορηγός, ὁ μόνος δίκαιος καὶ παντοκράτωρ καὶ αἰώιος, ὁ διασώζων τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ παντὸς κακοῦ, ὁ ποιήσας τοὺς πατέρας ἐκλεκτούς, καὶ ἁγιάσας αὐτούς.*

Cf. also 3 Macc. vi, 3–4.

Again, glory is given to the Name by means of abundant phrases expressing the divine attributes or activities, e.g., 2 Baruch xxi, 4–26. "O Thou that hast made the earth, hear me, that hast fixed the firmament by the word and hast made firm the height of the heaven by the spirit, that hast called from the beginning of the world that which did not exist and they obey Thee. Thou that hast commanded the air by Thy nod, and hast seen those things which are to be as those things which Thou art doing. Thou that rulest with great thought the hosts that stand before Thee; also the countless holy beings, which Thou didst make from the beginning, of flame and fire, which stand around Thy throne Thou rulest with indignation. To Thee only does this belong that Thou shouldest do forthwith whatsoever Thou dost wish. Who causest the drops of rain to rain by number upon the earth, and alone knowest the consummation of the times before they have come; have respect unto my prayer. . . ."

These long passages of praise very clearly form the

invocation, which preceded the prayer, and such invocations are frequent.

2 Baruch xlviii, 1–24.
" O my Lord, Thou summonest the advent of the times,
and they stand before Thee ;
Thou causest the power of the ages to pass away and
they do not resist Thee ;
Thou arrangest the method of the seasons
and they obey Thee
Thou alone knowest the duration of the generations,
and Thou weighest the lightness of the wind.

(These praises continue thus at some length and then it continues)

Hear Thy servant
and give ear to my petition. . . . "

4 Ezra viii, 20–21.
O Lord that dwellest eternally
whose are the highest heavens,
whose chambers are in the air
whose throne is beyond imagination
whose glory is inconceivable
before whom heaven's host stand trembling
and at Thy word change to wind and fire,
whose word is sure
and behest constant
whose commandment is strong
and enactment terrible
whose look drieth up the depths
whose indignation melteth the mountains
whose faithfulness standeth eternal—
Hear the voice of Thy servant. . . . "

Cf. also 2 Baruch liv, 1–32 ; Book of Enoch lxxxiv.

Tobit iii, 2 ff. *δίκαιος εἶ, κύριε, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα σου καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοί σου ἐλεημοσύναι καὶ ἀλήθεια καὶ κρίσιν ἀληθινὴν καὶ δικαίαν σὺ κρίνεις εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.*

Cf. further Tobit. xiii, 1–8, Prayer of Manasseh, Additions to Esther iii.

The purpose of the quotations, which have now been given, is to demonstrate the different forms in which praise

was expressed and invocation of the Divine Name made. In closing this section a few quotations will be made in order to illustrate the importance of and significance attached to these forms of praise. This significance is shown us in Neh. ix, 5 ff. *καὶ εἴποσαν οἱ Λευεῖται Ἰησοῦς καὶ Καδμιήλ ἀνάστητε, εὐλογεῖτε Κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος· καὶ εὐλογήσουσιν ὄνομα δόξης σου, καὶ ὑψώσουσιν ἐπὶ πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ καὶ αἰνέσει.*

The conceptions of name and glory are here brought together in the expression *ὄνομα τῆς δόξης*, and the prayer which follows this verse is described as a blessing and exaltation of the glorious Name. The manner in which this is accomplished is then illustrated in the opening sentences of the prayer : *σὺ εἶ αὐτὸς Κύριος μόνος· σὺ ἐποίησας τὸν οὐρανὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν στάσιν αὐτῶν, τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ, τὰς θαλάσσας καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς, καὶ σὺ ζωοποιεῖς τὰ πάντα· καὶ σοὶ προσκυνοῦσιν αἱ στρατεῖαι τῶν οὐρανῶν.*

The prayer which is found in Sir. li, 1–12 consists chiefly of praise for the divine help which has been given. This praise is continually described as praise or glory to the Name.

1. *ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι, Κύριε βασιλεῦ,*
καὶ αἰνέσω σε θεὸν τὸν σωτῆρά μου,
ἐξομολογοῦμαι τῷ ὀνόματί σου.
11. *αἰνέσω τὸ ὄνομα σου ἐνδελεχῶς,*
καὶ ὑμνήσω ἐν ἐξομολογήσει·
12. *διὰ τοῦτο ἐξομολογήσομαι καὶ αἰνέσω σοι,*
καὶ εὐλογήσω τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου.

Cf. also Enoch lxi ; 2 Baruch liv, 7–12 ; Ps. of Solomon xv, 3 ff.

The examples which have as yet been brought under discussion in this section, have been entirely of praise, and it is a certain fact that expressions of praise occur much more frequently and are more varied than those of blessing. This was probably due to the fact that the Priest's Blessing had already in the Old Testament and Temple worship become fixed, and was regarded as distinctive. This blessing was also used in the synagogue and consequently the need for development was not felt. In daily life the simple blessing *εἰρήνη ὑμῖν* was usually uttered.

But although the forms of blessing were not developed in such varied ways as those of praise, they appear to have passed through a similar process of growth. As with praise, so also with blessing. Fuller and more elaborate benedictions were used on particularly solemn occasions. An example of this may be found in the Book of Jubilees xii, where the blessing attributed to Terah and pronounced upon Abraham occurs.

"Go in peace :
may the eternal God make thy path straight
may the Lord (be with thee and) protect thee from all evil
and grant unto thee grace, mercy and favour before those who see thee,
And may none of the children of men have power over thee and harm thee."

Compare also Jubilees xxi—the blessing of Abraham on Isaac.

"Go, my son, in peace.
May the most High God, my God and thy God, strengthen thee to do His will,
And may He bless all thy seed and the residue of thy seed for the generations for ever with all righteous blessings,
That thou mayest be a blessing on all the earth."

Finally, even as it was noted that in the Old Testament praise to God and blessing upon others occur together, so this appears clearly in Rebecca's blessing upon Jacob.—Jubilees xxv.

"Blessed be the Lord God and may His Holy Name be blessed for ever and ever, who has given me Jacob as a pure son and a holy seed ; for he is Thine and Thine shall be his seed continually and throughout all the generations for evermore. Bless him, O Lord, and place in my mouth the blessings of righteousness, that I may bless him."

Many quotations from Jewish prayers have now been made, and it remains to gather together and set forth the results which have been obtained. These prayers clearly represent a direct development from the Old Testament, for they contain many phrases familiar and often used in the Old Testament, though some new expressions have also

been created. Further, in these prayers the invocation of the Name is prominent, and this is accomplished through abundant expressions of praise, which were calculated to increase the Name, or the glory—for these two conceptions are here inseparable. The development from the Old Testament, however, contains one very significant feature and this must be examined more closely.

(i) In the section in the Old Testament it was shown that definite forms of praise and blessing were emerging in the religion of Israel, and that these arose out of the conception of the Divine Name. The forms of praise were often used as a means of invocation at the opening of prayers. The continuation of similar forms and a similar usage in Judaism is clearly evidenced in the examples which have been given. But here a development has taken place, for the passages of praise have undoubtedly increased in length and abundance, although, it must be noticed that the forms of expression remain essentially the same. The underlying conceptions are regarded, perhaps, in a more spiritual and less crude manner.

(ii) The chief part of the Temple worship had been the ritual and ceremonies connected with sacrifice. But sacrifice was confined to the Temple at Jerusalem, whereas the religion of the Jews at the New Testament period was concerned with the synagogue. The synagogue knew no sacrifice, but offered prayer as a substitution, and it was consequently due to the development of the synagogue worship that an important development in the manner of prayer took place.

The prayers which were first offered in the synagogues were in all probability extempore, but as is common in this type of prayer, use was no doubt made of many familiar phrases and forms. But gradually these prayers acquired an increasingly set form, until at the beginning of the Christian era, we find that certain prayers were known among Jews and were prescribed for synagogue and private worship. This usage of prescribed set prayers is, however, highly important, for it means that many phrases and forms of prayer were fixed, and established as part of the equipment of the religious life. Men no longer used words of prayer which rose spontaneously to their lips, they used a sentence

which they heard each Sabbath in the synagogue, and on each Sabbath now they heard the same prayers, repeated week by week. The development of Christian prayer has been influenced in no small degree, by the fixed forms and expressions of the synagogue prayers.

(iii) In harmony with this development we notice that a prominent feature of Jewish praises and blessings is the stereotyped character, which in consequence was imparted to them. Certain phrases were hardened into set form and were used on many different occasions. Thus arose definite formulas of praise and blessing. Examples of such formulas are found in the benedictions at the end of the books of the Psalter and also at the end of each section of the Shemoneh Esreh. The similarity of these one to the other, and their common feature of detachment from their context have already been noted.

But such formulas were by no means confined to worship. The Jew was accustomed to the pronouncement of a short sentence of blessing at each act of his daily life. Before washing his hands the Jew uttered the words "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments and commanded us concerning the washing of hands." The appropriate benediction on placing the phylactery on one's arm was, "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments and hast commanded us to lay the Tefillin." One of the most ancient blessings is that pronounced over bread: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who bringest forth bread from the earth." "Altogether something like a hundred forms of Benediction are extant in Rabbinical literature. . . ."[1] This shows how thoroughly this custom was ingrained in the nature of the Jew and how easily these set forms of benediction came to his lips. When we remember that Paul was a thorough Jew the importance of this custom for the study of his epistles is clear. The appearance of definite self-contained forms of praise and blessing, which were applicable on many different occasions, was indeed an important stage in the

[1] W. Oesterley and G. Box, *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, pp. 362–364. Here will be found the benedictions which are given above.

development of this side of worship, and one which exercised considerable influence on Christian writings and worship.

(*c*) THE MANDEANS[1]

Regarding the origin of the Mandeans it has been clearly shown by M. Lidzbarski[2] that they arose in the neighbourhood of the Jordan before the Christian era, that they remained there until the close of the ministry of John the Baptist, by whom they were strongly influenced, and that shortly afterwards they removed to the East. In connection with the sources for their teaching and customs Lidzbarski writes[3] : " Ich bin . . . der Überzeugung, dass die Mandäische Religion schon in ihren Anfängen durch die persische beeinflusst ist, und doch scheinen mir diese Anfänge nicht im Osten sondern im Westen zu liegen. 'Die mandäische Religion muss ihre wesentliche Ausbildung beim Juden oder einer judaisierenden Sekt erhalten haben. Ihre Terminologie in Lehre und Kultur ist so stark durch das A.T. und das Hebräische beeinflusst, wie man es sonst ausserhalb des Judentums nicht findet." Much of the literature produced by the Mandeans is certainly from a later period, but much also is from an earlier period. An examination of this literature will, therefore, continue the survey of the Old Testament, and also reveal a new section of the world of thought in the first century.

We are concerned here, particularly, with the ceremonial side of the Mandean religion, and this had its centre in the frequent, almost daily baptisms, which the believer practised.

The rite of baptism was celebrated by means of many different customs, among which the frequent prayers had an important place.[4] The validity of the baptism, however, as well as the accompanying customs, seems to have been

[1] The quotations which will be made in this section, have, unfortunately, to be given in German, for as yet no English translation of the complete Mandean literature has been published. The quotations are made from the translation of M. Lidzbarski, *Ginza, Der Schatz, Johannesbuch der mandäer, Mandäische Liturgien* (in Abh. d. kgl. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaft zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl. N.F. Bd. 17[1]).

[2] M. Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch—Einleitung, Ginza—Einleitung.*

[3] *Joh. buch* 16.

[4] Cf. Qol. *Erster Teil,* where the prayers and customs connected with baptism are given.

dependent on the invocation of the Divine Name. Qol. xiii, " In eurem Namen, Silmai und Niedbai, mit der Kraft des Hibil, Sibil und Anos bindet, siegelt und verwahrt diese Seelen, die zum Jordan hinabsteigen und getauft werden." Then after the baptism it is recorded, Qol. xviii, that " Du bist mit dem zeichen des Lebens gezeichnet, der Name des Lebens und der Name des Manda d Haije ist über dich ausgesprochen. Du bist mit der Taufe der grossen Bikram . . . gezeichnet. Diene Taufe behüte dich und sei erfolgreich. Der Name des Lebens und der Name des Manda d Haiji ist über dich ausgesprochen." Then hands are laid on the head of the one being baptized and the following words are spoken, " Der Name der grossen, verborgenen, ersten Quelle ist über dich ausgesprochen und der Name der grossen, ersten Palene ist über dich ausgesprochen. Der Name der grossen Sialem ist über dich ausgesprochen "—and so on for twelve lines.

Qol. li. " Ich bin getauft im Namen des fremden erhabenen Lebens, das über allen Werken steht und bin gefestigt im Namen des Lichtkönigs." Cf. also G.R. 136, 189, 17 ; Joh. B., p. 106, 173 ; Qol. xxiii. That the invocation of the sacred Names occurred also in connection with other activities of life is evidenced in G.R. 17, 179, 365.

Thus the Divine Name, or rather the Divine Names were of central significance in the religion, and the passage quoted from Qol. xviii has shown the tendency to accumulate titles in the invocation of the Names. This feature was characteristic of the ritual and there are many long passages in the Mandean writings which contain merely praises directed to the sacred Names. Examples of this are found in the third part of the Qolasta which includes three prayers used in baptism. The first of these prayers closes thus : " Manda d Haije ist dein Name, Kusta ist dein Name, siegreich ist dein Name, verherrlicht ist dein Name, geehrt ist dein Name, gesegnet ist dein Name, gefestigt ist dein Name."

The second prayer Qol. lxxvi commences : " Lobpreisungen seien jenem einen grossen Namen des Lebens zuteil, der über allen Namen ist. Die Name ruht am grossen Lichtorte in den lichten Wohnungen. . . . " and closes : " Wir wollen mit deinem Glanze eingehen und mit

deinem Lichte ausgehen. Wir wollen mit deinem Namen austehen, uns mit deiner Benennung aufrichten. Kusta ist dein Name, Manda d Haije ist dein Name, teuer ist dein Name, herrlich ist dein Name, gesegnet ist dein Name, gebenedeit ist dein Name, siegreich ist dein Name, siegreich sind die Worte der Kusta, die aus deinem Munde herauskommen und seigreich sind alle deine Werke." Similar is also the conclusion of the third prayer : " Dein Name leuchtet, dein Name ist hell, dein Name ist angesehen, dein Name ist gefestigt, dein Name ist siegreich und siegreich sind die Worte, die aus deinem Munde kommen, über alle Werke." In addition to these three prayers a passage from G.R. xxx also shows the same manner of praise : " Gepriesen sei dein Name, du Herr der Grösse, im Namen und in der Kraft des Herrn der Grösse, Lichtkönig, Herr aller Welten, reiner Glanz und grosses Licht, das nicht vergeht, Mitleidiger, Erbittlicher, Barmherzige, Erlöser aller Gläubigen, Festiger aller Guten . . . " etc.

Other passages will show more clearly the manner in which praise was expressed. These quotations can be made only in translation, but even so, it will be seen that many of the expressions and forms used in them are similar to those of the quotations which were given from the Old Testament and Jewish literature. Examples of praises addressed to the Divine are as follows :

Qol. xx. " Gesegnet seiest du, äussere Pforte,
Gesegnet seiest du, lichte Wohnung.
Gesegnet seiet ihr, grosse Glanzwesen, gewaltige, grosse Lichtwesen.
Gesegnet und gepriesen und verherrlicht seien die Uthras, die am Jorden wohnen."

Qol. xxv sets forth the manner in which the Uthras, the Sons of Light, praise Manda d Haije.

" Gepriesen sei Manda d Haije.
Gepriesen sei Jawar Zewa. . . . "

this is repeated through eighteen lines, each line bearing a different name.

Qol. lviii : " Gepriesen sei das erste Leben und gepriesen sei das Wort des ersten Lebens.
Gepriesen sei jener Glanz, das Licht und die Herrlichkeit.

Gepriesen sei jenes Licht, dem keine Grenze, kein Ende wurde, von dem nicht bekannt wurde, wann es entstanden ist.

Gepriesen sei der Herr der Grösse, gepriesen seien alle Uthras, die zur Rechten und Linken des Herrn der Grösse stehen und den Herrn der Grösse preisen . . ."

This passage is then continued with twenty-one such sentences of praise.

Qol. lxx : " Gesegnet und gepriesen sei das Leben, das voll Erbarmen mit diesen Seelen ist ;

Gepriesen seiest du mein Herr Manda d Haije, der du diese Seele emporheben mögest und sie nicht verdammst;

Gepriesen seiest du, Josamim, du reiner, der du ihnen ein Helfer seiest ;

" Gepriesen seid ihr Selmai und Kidbai, die ihr ein wahrhaftiges Zeugnis über sie ablegen möget.

" Gepriesen seid ihr Hibil, Sitil und Anos, die ihr sie aus dem Zöllnerhause hinüberführen möget." Cf. also Qol. lxxi; O.S., x, xi ; Joh. B., pp. 330–331.

The characteristic of all these passages is the mention of the different sacred Names, to each of which a sentence of praise is attached. But praise was often drawn out to a much greater length as a passage from G.R. ii shows : " Sie verehren, preisen, und bekennen unterwürfig den Herrn der Grösse, den hohen Lichtkönig, für dessen Glanz, Licht und Herrlichkeit es kein Mass, keine Zahl und keine Begrenzung gibt, der ganz Glanz, ganz Licht, ganz Helligkeit, ganz Leben, ganz Treue, ganz Liebe, ganz Mitlied, ganz Nachricht, ganz Augen, ganz Gesicht, ganz gepriesene Antlitze der Schönheit, der ganz Einsicht, Wissen und Offenbarung, ganz Namen der Herrlichkeit ist. Er ist der hohe Lichtkönig, mit allen Segnungen gesegnet, von Anfang bis in alle Ewigkeit, der erste von allem Urbeginn an, der Schöpfer aller Gestalten, der Bildner der schönen Dinge, der in seiner Weisheit bewahrt, verborgen, nicht offenbart ist." Similar passages also occur in G.R. iii, xxx, lxi ; Qol. xxxv, lxxv.

The quotations are evidence for a well-developed manner of liturgical praise, and the forms in which this is expressed are familiar. Although the passages themselves are longer and more elaborate, yet the forms of praise are similar to

those of the Old Testament and synagogue worship. The question concerning the significance which was attached to this praise among the Mandeans must now be answered. It seems evident that the Mandeans regarded praise according to either of two conceptions, although these conceptions were not sharply defined or always kept distinct one from the other.

(*a*) Praise was regarded as Light or Illumination.

The conception is seen in the following passages :

G.R. cclxxiv: " Vom Gebete und vom Schatze des Lebens von ihrem Gebete und ihrer Lobpreisung bekleiden sie sich mit Glanz und bedecken sie mit Licht."

G.R. lxxiv : " Ich leuchtete in meiner Lobpreisung
Ixh glänzte in meiner Lobpreisung."

G.R. xci : " Mit Erleuchtung und Lobpreisung macht ich mich auf."

G.L. lxiii : " Ich glänzte durch die Lobpreisung meines Schöpfers."

Joh. B., p. 101 : " Ich glänze und leuchte durch die Lobpreisung des Namens meines Schöpfers."

This usage of the term light or illumination for praise was not merely symbolic ; we have to think of it definitely in a material sense. That shows itself more clearly in the conception that praise, i.e., light ascends to increase the store of divine light. Many passages could be produced as evidence for this conception and a few examples may be given.

G.R. vii : " Könige der Lobpreisung kamen empor, entstanden und wurden im Leben gerufen, für die es kein Ende, Zahl oder Vergehen gibt. Sie sind alle voll Lobpreis und stehen da und preisen jeden hohen Lichtkönig, dessen Glanz reicher ist, als dass man ihn mit einem Munde aus Fleisch und Blut schildern, und dessen Licht grösser ist als dass man es mit den Lippen aussprechen könnte."

G.R. lxii. "Herr der Lobpreisung! Deine Lobpreisung ruhe auf uns.

" Glänzender von grossen Glanze ! Von deinem Glanze ruhe ein Teil auf uns.

" Grosses, unvergängliches Licht ! Von deinem Lichte ruhe ein Teil auf uns."

G.R. cxxxviii : " Ihr Herz hüpfte bei ihrer Erleuchtung

und ihrer Lobpreisung. Tag für Tag steigt deise zum Leben und zum Mana und seinem grossen ersten Abbild empor, die das Leben schaffen."

G.R. cxl : " Jene meine Erleuchtung und Lobpreisung steigt Tag für Tag, Stunde für Stunde empor vor dem verborgenen Mana . . ."

G.R. ccc : " Wenn das grosse Tor des Hauses des Abthar geöffnet wird

" Werden Gebet und Lobpreis an ihrem Ort emporsteigen

" Emporsteigen werden Gebet und Lobpreis an ihrem Ort und am Ort verbergen werden, aus dem sie gekommen sind."

Joh. B. viii : " Saget mir, wer unter den Uthras Gebet und Lobpreisung entgegennimmt, sie in sein Schatzhaus bringt und da bewahrt ? "

Joh. B. xxix : " Gross bin ich und gross ist mein Glanz und keine Grenze gibt es für meine Lobpreisung." Cf. further Joh. B, p. 183 ; Qol. xx.

If these passages are studied together the conception becomes clear. There is a storehouse in which all the praises are gathered, and all the praise which is offered, ascends to increase this store. But this praise has first of all been given out of the storehouse, as references in G.R. lxii, ccc, have shown, and this conception of the sending forth of praise receives evidence in many other passages.

G.R. ii: " Er verlieh ihnen Gebet und Lobpreisung, die sich in ihr Herz legten, die in Lichtwolken stehen."

G.R. lxii : " Sender jeglichen Gebetes und Lobpreises deine Lobpreisung rühe über uns."

G.R. lxiii: " Geber der Weiskeit und der Lobpreisung."

G.R. ccxix. " Nur Hibil Ziwa wird emporsteigen um Erleuchtung und Lobpreisung vom Lichte herzubringen."

G.R. ccciii : " Mein Vater segnete mich mit seinem Segen und legte etwas von seiner Pflanzung über mich.

> Er verlieh mir Lobpreis
> ausgedehnt und unbegrenzt.
> Er verlieh mir Erleuchtung,
> die ohne Mangel und Fehl ist."

Cf. also G.R. xii, xiv, xxx, ccc ; Joh. B., p. xiii ; O.S., x, liii.

Light and praise are in these passages used as synonymous terms. The two conceptions which have been illustrated can best be pictured in a kind of circular movement. Praise is given to the worshipper in the form of light or illumination, which ascends again, but in increased quantity in the praises of the worshipper, thereby increasing the store of praise or light. "The 'Glanz' or 'Licht' comes down from the King of Light, passes through the worshipper, and rises again as praise to increase or strengthen the light or glory of the King of Light."[1]

(*b*) Praise is also regarded as power. This conception is found in the following passages :

G.R. ccclii : "Ich richte eine Bitte an das grosse Leben,
richte deine Lobpreisung auf mir auf.
Als das grosse Leben dies hörte
sandte es mir Kraft in Fülle."

G.R. ccclxix : "Ich stehe mit der Kraft meines Herrn da, mit der Lobpreisung des Mannes, meines Schöpfers."

Joh. B., p. 82 : "In wessen Kraft stehst du da und mit wessen Lobpreisung predigst du ? . . . Ich stehe in der Kraft meines Vaters da und mit der Lobpreisung des Mannes meines Schöpfers." Cf. also Qol. lxxvi.

G.R. lxxxv : "Als er (der König der Finsternis) rief, Mitleidiger habe Mitleid mit mir, verliessen ihn alle seine Anbeter. Seine Anbeter verliessen ihn und seine eigene Last drückte ihn." This means that through the offered worship he had formerly received power to carry his burden, but now that his worshippers have forsaken him, his burden overpowers him because he has lost his strength.

It is important to notice here, that a close connection existed in the thought of the Mandeans between power and the sacred Name. Indeed it often occurs that power and name are used as synonymous terms ; cf. G.R. xxx, cclxxxv ; G.L. lxxxiii ; Qol. xiii, xlviii ; Joh. B., pp. 82, 206. This connection is illustrated by those passages in which the activity of the power is occasioned through the invocation of the Name. The call of the worshipper upon the sacred Name is followed by the divine activity. This is clearly

[1] These words are quoted from the dissertation by G. H. Boolyer, *Thanksgiving and the Glory of God in Paul,* where this whole conception is rather more fully discussed, pp. 35–41.

seen in the passages which have been quoted above in connection with baptism, and also in the following passages :

G.R. lii : " Wenn er euch bedrängt und ihr zu ihm übergeht, so bekennet ihn doch nicht und wendet euch nicht von eurem Glauben ab. Nennet den Namen des hohen Lichtkönigs, der über allen Welten steht. Sein Name sei in euren Herzen und eurem Munde und seine Kraft ruhe bei euch."

Joh. B., p. 306 : " Wenn sie meinen Namen über den Jordan aussprechen, dann lässt sich meine Kraft über ihn nieder und durch mich steigt der Jordan empor und erhalten die Uthras Festigkeit."

Qol. lxxvi : " Lobpreisungen seien jenem einen grossen Namen des Lebens zu teil, der über allen Namen ist. Der Name ruht am grossen Lichtorte . . ., er steht uns bei zu unserer Kraft, er schnitt uns nicht ab vom Wege zum Hause unseres Vertrauens." Cf. also G.R. cxliv ; Joh. B., p. 96 ; Qol. clxxv.

The conception of praise then as power is evident in Mandean thought. Praises were addressed to the Divine Name or in the Divine Name, and thus serve to increase the divine power. This power is then called into activity through the invocation of the Name. The power is active upon all those on whom the Name is called, irrespective of their friendship or hostility to the Name. Here there emerges the conception of blessing and cursing. The invocation of the sacred Name in a blessing or a curse renders the words which have been spoken, effective, i.e., the power of the Name for good or ill is communicated through the invocation. This conception is seen clearly in the significance of the Name for the ceremony of baptism, and also in the description of the activity of a saviour, which is given in the fifth book of G.R. Here the representative of the World of Light goes forth to speak with the King of Darkness, and he goes " im Namen des verborgenen, ersten Lebens, das an verborgenem Orte verborgen ist, im Namen des Mana und seines Abbildes, im Namen meines Vaters Manda dHaije." On his departure he receives an all-powerful passport in the form of a signet-ring, " auf dem der Name der grossen Finsternis geschrieben und abgebildet war." He locks the door of the World of

Darkness, and then " sprach ich über jenes Tor drei geheime Namen aus, die niemand von ihrer Stelle versetzen kann, den Namen Ham-Ziwa, Nher-Ziwa und Lofefan-Mehara-Rabba, diese geheimen, bei mir wohl verwahrten Namen, damit diese Tore nicht losgelöst werden und niemand sie öffnen könne." This illustrates the great power of the sacred Name, which could be called into activity by a knowledge, i.e., by invocation of the Name. Cf. also G.R. cccxxxvii–cccxxxviii.

G.R. clxxxii : " Zan und Hazazban sprachen zu mir, ' Du Mann übergieb uns deinen Namen und dein Zeichen, die du aus den Wogen des Wassers, aus den Schätzen des Glanzes und aus der grossen Taufe des Lichtes geholt hast.' Ich nannte ihm meinen Namen und mein Zeichen, darauf verneigte sich Zan und Hazazban vor mir in tiefer Verneigung." Cf. also G.R. clxxx, clxxxix.

The power of the Name called forth by means of blessing is also seen in the following passages :

G.R. cccvi : " Er segnete mich mit grossem endlosen Segen."

G.R. cccxxvii : " Alsdann rief es Manda dHaije und sprach zu ihm :
Komm rasch und behüte deine Söhne
Komm, behüte deine Söhne und segne sie mit deinem Segen.
Es segnete mich mit seinem Segen
und breitete über mich von seinem Glanze,
breitete über mich von seiner Pflanzung."

G.R. xliii : " Das grosse Leben segnete dich und die verwahrten Manas festigen dich."

G.R. cccxlix : " Beschwöre ihn bei dem einen grossen Namen, bei dem der Lichtkönig dich beschworen hat." In this passage a magical significance is attached to the sacred Name. This was a common conception in the ancient world and gave rise to the use of magic formulas, charms, ornaments, etc., by means of which the owner of the magic Name could be called into activity or prevented from any harmful deed.

We must now gather together the results which have been obtained, for it must be remembered that the conceptions which for the sake of clarity have been isolated

here, did not exist in this concise and definite form in the thought of the Mandeans. All these conceptions were mingled one with the other and often appear incidentally in the writings.

But we can say that praise was regarded either as light or power, the uniting factor in the two conceptions being in the custom of addressing praise in or to the sacred Name. As light, praise is given from the divine light and ascends again to increase that divine light ; as power, it increases the divine power, but the reverse action is different in that the invocation communicates this power. Thus the Name itself becomes a magical power operative in blessing and cursing.

If now we make allowance for the materialistic manner in which these ideas were conceived, it is true to say that both the conceptions attaching to, and the forms of praise and blessing found in the Mandean writings are similar to those of the Old Testament and Judaism. There is also a similarly close connection between praise and the Divine Name, which is magnified by means of praise. But while the development of the Old Testament conceptions into Judaism was a development into more spiritual and refined notions, a retrogression is found in the Mandean writings when they are compared to the Old Testament, for in them the conceptions are cruder and more materialistic. But the important point is that in these three types of worship similar conceptions and forms of praise and blessing are found.

(*d*) THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

The conceptions regarding the sacred Name in the Old Testament and the forms of praise and blessing which were used at that time have now been illustrated. Further, the development of these conceptions and forms has been traced, on the one hand in the worship of the synagogue, and on the other hand, in a cruder and syncretistic religion —probably with the combination of Persian ideas—among the Mandeans. It will become clear in the next section that the evidence given is sufficient to explain the doxologies and benedictions in the epistles of Paul, and an attempt

will be made to show that most of the expressions themselves were taken over from the Septuagint or the synagogue. Consequently a detailed examination of the forms and conceptions existing in the Hellenistic world is not necessary, but inasmuch as many Early Christian communities arose in this world, their converts were familiar with it, and Paul himself, though fundamentally a Jew, was well acquainted with it, this sphere of thought and religion cannot be altogether neglected.

The influence of the Hellenistic world, indeed, seems to have had effect in this respect later in the Christian development than the time of Paul, although even here some traces of it can be found. The influence particularly of the Gnostic systems becomes clear, for examples, in the Apocryphal Acts, quotations from which will be given more conveniently in the next chapter. In other Gnostic writings, e.g., Hermetica, evidence for forms of praise and blessing is very slight ; and this is not surprising in view of the fact that these writings were produced in order to set forth a system of teaching and have therefore little direct connection with worship of any kind.[1] Nevertheless ideas and forms of expression which we have already noticed are not absent.

Familiar in form, for example is the hymn of praise found in Hermetica, Lib. i, 31 :

διὸ δίδωμαι ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ ἰσχύος ὅλης εὐλογίαν τῷ πατρὶ θεῷ·
Ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων. ἅγιος ὁ θεός οὗ ἡ βουλὴ τελεῖται ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων δυνάμεων· ἅγιος εἶ ὁ λόγῳ συστησάμενος

[1] R. Reitzenstein in his book, *Poimandres*, has maintained that the literature known as Hermetica did have its origin in a definite cult, though he admits the difficulty of obtaining precise knowledge concerning this cult. "Die Frage, wie weit die Hermetische Literatur an bestimmte Kulte und Kultusvorstellungen schliesst, lässt sich bei der Eigentümtichkeit der ägyptischen Religionsvorstellungen und bei unserer immer noch geringen Kenntnis ihrer lokalen Verschiedenheiten, fast nur aus den äusseren Formen beurteilen." P. 117. Nevertheless he reaches the conclusion : "Gegründet wurde die Poimandres-Gemeinde jedenfalls vor Beginn des zweiten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. und nach dem Beginn des zweiten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. . . . Begründer der Sekte war ein ägyptischer Priester, welcher eine Lehre von der Weltschöpfung von Ptah mit einer von Osten eindringenden Verkündigung von der Knechtschaft und Befreiung des Menschen zu einem gnostischen System verband." The community then increased and expanded, but gradually changed its character. "Das Prophetentum tritt im Laufe des zweiten Jahrhunderts immer stärker hervor. Eben dadurch näherte sich die Gemeinde wieder den zahlreichen Hermes—Gemeinden, um endlich im Lanfe des dritten Jahrhunderts völlig in sie aufzugeben." Certain passages in the Hermetic literature may be taken then as reflecting the usages of such a religious community.

τὰ ὄντα· ἅγιος εἶ, οὗ πᾶσα φύσις εἰκὼν ἔφυ· ἅγιος εἶ, ὃν ἡ φύσις οὐκ ἐμόρφωσεν· ἅγιος εἶ ὁ πάσης δυνάμεως ἰσχυρότερος· ἅγιος εἶ ὁ πάσης ὑπεροχῆς μείζων· ἅγιος εἶ ὁ κρείττων πάντων ἐπαίνων.[1]

This praise was regarded in the familiar manner as a sacrifice to God. δέξαι λογικὰς θυσίας[2] ἁγνὰς ἀπὸ ψυχῆς καὶ καρδίας πρὸς σε ἀνατεταμένης, ἀνεκλάλητε, ἄρρητε σιωπῇ φωνούμενε.

The central mystery which in Lib. xiii, 17–20, Hermes makes known to Tat, also seems to have been a hymn of praise, and the following passage taken from it, is significant.

αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ ἐν ἐμοὶ ὑμνεῖτε το ἓν καὶ τὸ πᾶν, συνᾴσατε τῷ θελήματί μου πᾶσαι αἱ ἐν ἐμοὶ δυνάμεις. γνῶσις ἁγία, φωτισθεὶς ἀπὸ σοῦ διὰ σοῦ τὸ νοητὸν φῶς . . . ὑμνῶν χαίρω ἐν χαρᾷ νοῦ. πᾶσαι δυνάμεις ὑμνεῖτε σὺν ἐμοί· καὶ σύ μοι ἐγκράτεια . . . ὕμνει, δικαιοσύνη μου τὸ δίκαιον ὕμνει δι' ἐμοῦ, κοινωνία ἡ ἐμὴ τὸ πᾶν ὕμνει δι' ἐμοῦ, ὕμνει ἀλήθεια τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀγαθόν, ὕμνει· ζωὴ καὶ φῶς, ἀφ' ὑμῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς χωρεῖ ἡ εὐλογία. εὐχαριστῶ σοι, πάτερ, ἐνέργεια τῶν δυνάμεών μου. εὐχαριστῶ σοι, θεέ, δύναμις τῶν ἐνεργειῶν μου. ὁ σὸς Λόγος δι' ἐμοῦ ὑμνεῖ σε, δι' ἐμοῦ δέξαι τὸ πᾶν λόγῳ λογικὴν θυσίαν. ταῦτα βοῶσιν αἱ δυνὰμεις αἱ ἐν ἐμοί σὲ τὸ πᾶν ὑμνοῦσι, τὸ σὸν θέλημα τελοῦσι.

Here the conception, which is prominent in the Mandean literature, that the hymn of praise is given by the divinity and returns to its source, is clearly shown. There is no need to elaborate this conception here, for its existence in the Hermetic literature has already been proved.[3]

The same conception is also found in the Odes of Solomon—" ein gnostisches Liederbuch "[4]—which reveals Christian influences and probably originated in the second Christian century.

> Ode 7 : " Nichts Lebendiges sei unwissend oder stumm, denn er (der Herr) verlieh seinen Geschöpfen denMund.

[1] This and the succeeding quotations from the Hermetica are taken from the text given by R. Rietzenstein. *Poimandres: Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur.*

[2] For the conception of λογικὴ θυσία as a " form of divine Light which came down from God, and was sent up again to Him by man." s. G. Booblyer. *Thanksgiving. and the Glory of God in Paul,* p. 53.

[3] s. G. Boolyer, *idem,* pp. 49–56.

[4] H. Gressmann in *N.T. Apokryphen* from which the following quotations are made.

Stimme und Mund zu öffnen vor ihm und ihn zu preisen."

Ode 26: "Wer kann die Leider des Herrn aufzeichnen und wer sie lesen?
Wer kann sich selbst zum Leben unterweisen, dass seine Seele erlöst werde?
Wer kann sich in den Höchsten versetzen, dass er aus seinem Munde rede?
Wer ist fähig zu erklären das Wunder des Herrn?"

Concerning this ode Gressmann writes: "Der Herr offenbart sich nur denen, die ihm zu eigen gehören. In ihnen singt er seine Lieder, in ihre Hand legt er seine Zither. . . . Gott muss seine Lieder selbst offenbaren und selbst den Weg zum Leben zeigen; kein Sterblicher kann aus seinem Munde reden und seine Gedanken erklären."

Ode 14: "Lehre mich die Lieder deiner Wahrheir, dass ich Früchte bringe durch dich.
Schlage mir die Zither deines heiligin Geistes, dass ich in allerlie Melodien dich preise, Herr."

Cf. also Ode 10, 36.

In the worship of the Hellenistic world, sacred names also played a large part, and to these names was often ascribed a magical power. This magical use is illustrated in the names of foreign gods brought over into the Greek language and also in the long unintelligible names, artificially built up, which were common in the syncretistic systems. But apart from this very crude custom, the invocation of the name through long passages of praise seems to have been common throughout the Hellenistic world. This is seen, for example, in a liturgy which was discovered and published by A. Dieterich.[1] The invocation at the beginning of the prayer is as follows: "Erster Ursprung meines Ursprungs, Urgrund meines Urgrunds erster, Geist des Geistes, des Geistes in mir Erstling, Feuer, das zu meiner Mischung (aus der Mischung in mir) von Gott gegeben ist, des Feuer in mir Erstling, Wasser des Wassers, des Wassers in mir Erstling. . . ."

[1] A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, 2 *Aufl.*, 1910.

The third prayer of the liturgy also opens thus : " Erhöre mich, höre mich du N.N., den Sohn des N.N. Herr, der du verschlossen hast mit dem Geisthauch die feurigen Schlösser des Himmels, Zweileibiger, Feuerwaltender, des Lichtes Schöpfer, Feuerhauchender, Feuermutiger, Geistleuchtender, Feuerfreudiger, Schönleuchtender . . . öffne mir, weil ich anrufe, um der niederdrückenden und bitteren und unerbittlichen Not willen, die Namen, die noch nie eingingen in sterbliche Natur, die noch nie in deutlicher Sprache ausgesprochen wurden von einer menschlichen Zunge oder menschlichem Laut oder menschlicher Stimme, die ewig-lebenden und hochgeehrten Namen."

Further examples of this manner of invocation are given in the prayers of the Hellenistic world which R. Reitzenstein has brought together.[1] A few quotations from these may be made in order to demonstrate how widespread this custom was, and in these quotations a familiar type of expression will be found, and also the importance of the sacred Name will be further illustrated.

Papyrus Leidensis W (Leemans Pap. graec. Lugd. ii, 141, 14 ff): *Δεῦρό μοι ὁ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ἐμφυσήσας πνεῦμα ἀνθρώποις εἰς ζωήν, οὗ ἐστιν τὸ κρυπτὸν ὄνομα καὶ ἄρρητον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ὃ μάντει λαληθῆναι οὐ δύναται, οὗ καὶ οἱ δαίμονες ἀκούοντες τὸ ὄνομα πτοῶνται. οὗ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη ὀφθαλμοί εἰσιν ἀκάματοι λάμποντες ἐν ταῖς κόραις τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὧ οὐρανὸς κεφαλή, αἰθήρ δὲ σῶμα, γῆ δὲ πόδες, τὸ δὲ περὶ σὲ ὕδωρ ὁ ὠκεανός. σὺ εἶ ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, ὁ γεννῶν ἀγαθὰ καὶ τρεφων τὴν οἰκουμένην σοῦ δὲ τὸ ἀένναον κωμαστήριον ἄνω καθίδρυται. οὗ αἱ ἀγαθαὶ ἀπόρροιαι τῶν ἀστέρων εἰσὶν Δαίμονες καὶ Τύχαι καὶ Μοῖραι, ἐξ ὧν δίδοται πλοῦτος, εὐκερασία, ἐντεκνία, τύχη, ταφὴ ἀγαθή, σὺ δὲ κυριεύεις τῆς ζωῆς. ὁ βασιλεύων τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνδιατριβόντων. οὗ ἡ Δικαιοσύνη οὐκ ἀποκινεῖται, οὗ αἱ Μοῦσαι ὑμνοῦσι τὸ ἔνδοξον ὄνομα, ὅν δορυφοροῦσιν οἱ ὀκτω φύλακες, ὁ ἔχων τὴν ἄψευστον ἀλήθειαν. ὄνομα σου καὶ πνεῦμά σου ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς. εἰσέλθοις τὸν ἐμὸν νοῦν . . .*

This is followed by the interesting remark *τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα σου ἔχω ὡς φυλακτήριον ἐν καρδίᾳ τῇ ἐμῇ*, to which Reitzenstein, p. 17, 6, writes : " Der Name ist in diesen mystischen Stücken fast gleich der Person oder einer Hypostase von

[1] *Poimandres*, p. 15 ff.

ihr," and adds a number of examples to illustrate this.

A prayer of Hermes, found in Leeman ii, 87, 24 and Dieterich, Abraxas 176, 1, and quoted by Reitzenstein, opens thus : *ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε τὸν τὰ πάντα κτίσαντα, τὸν παντὸς μείζονα, σὲ τὸν αὐτογέννητον θέον, τὸν πάντα ὁρῶντα καὶ πάντα ἀκούοντα καὶ μὴ ὁρώμενον. σὺ γὰρ ἔδωκας ἡλίῳ τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἅπασαν, σελήνῃ αὔξειν καὶ ἀπολήγειν καὶ δρόμους ἔχειν τακτούς, μηδὲν ἀφαιρέσας τοῦ προγενεστέρου σκότους, ἀλλ' ἰσότητα αὐτῶν ἐμέρισας σοῦ γὰρ φανέντος καὶ κόσμος ἐγένετο καὶ φῶς ἐφάνη καὶ διῳκονομήθη τά πάντα διὰ σέ· διὸ καὶ πάντα ὑποτέτακταί σοι. οὗ οὐδεὶς θεῶν δύναται ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀληθινὴν μορφήν, ὁ μεταμορφούμενος εἰς πάντας ἐν ταῖς ὁράσεσιν Αἰὼν Αἰῶνος. ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε κύριε . . .*

Similar is also the invocation of another prayer. Leeman II, 103, 7, Dieterich, Alraxas 189. *Σὲ μόνον ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν μόνον ἐν κόσμῳ διατάξαντα θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις, τὸν ἀλλάξαντα ἑαυτὸν μορφαῖς ἁγίαις καὶ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων εἶναι ποιήσαντα καὶ ἐξ ὄντων μὴ εἶναι. θαυθ ἅγιος, οὗ οὐδεὶς ὑποφέρει θεῶν τὴν ἀληθινὴν ὄψιν ἰδεῖν τοῦ προσώπου.*

Reitzenstein also gives examples of Egyptian prayers from which the following quotations may be made.

"Das Mysterium der Lychnomantie," which, says Reitzenstein, shows, "die Formen der spätägyptischen Theurgie." Wessely, Denkschr. d. K. K. Ahad. 1888, S. 68 Z. 930 ff. *ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε τὸν θεὸν τὸν ζῶντα, πυριφεγγῆ. ἀόρατον φωτὸς γεννήτορα· δός σου τὸ σθένος . . .*

ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε τὸν μέγιστον θεὸν δυνάστης Ὧρον Ἁρποκράτην αλκιβ Ἀρσαμῶσιν ιωαι δαγεννουθ ραραχαραι αβραιωθ, τὸν τὰ πάντα φωτίζοντα καὶ διαυγάζοντα τῇ ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει, τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον, θεὲ θεῶν, λόγος ὁ διέπων νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, ἡνιοχῶν καὶ κυβερνῶν οἴακα, κατέχων δράκοντα Ἀγαθὸν ἱερὸν δαίμονα . . . ὃν ἀνατολαὶ καὶ δύσεις ὑμνοῦσι ἀνατέλλοντα καὶ δύνοντα, εὐλόγητος ἐν θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ δαίμουσι . . .

Wessely *idem*, S. 84, Z 1598 ff.

ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε τὸν μέγιστον θεόν, τὸν ἀένναον κύριον κοσμοκράτορα, τὸν ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν κόσμον, ἄλκιμον θαλασσοκράτορα, ὀρθινὸν ἐπιλάμποντα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπηλιώτου ἀνατέλλοντα τῷ σύμπαντα κόσμῳ καὶ δύνοντα τῷ λιβί. δεῦρό μοι ὁ ἀνατέλλων ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, ὁ ἱλαρὸς Ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, ᾧ οὐρανὸς ἐγένετο κωμαστήριον. ἐπικαλοῦμαί σου τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ κρυπτὰ ὀνόματα, οἷς χαίρεις ἀκούων . . .

Egyptian prayer at the time of Ramses III (Papyrus—Harris I, 44, 3 ff):

"Heil dir! du bist gross, du bist alt, Tatenen, Vater der Götter, alter Gott von Anbeginn an, der die Menschen gebaut, der die Götter gemacht hat, der mit dem Schaffen begann als der erste Schöpfer, der schuf für alle, die nach ihm kamen, der den Himmel gemacht hat, wie sein Herz ihn schuf, der ihn aufhängte, als Gott Sehu sich erhob, der die Erde gegründet hat aus eigener Kraft, der kreiste in dem Urgewässer des grossen Grünen...."

Sufficient quotations have now been given to show the importance of the sacred names in the Hellenistic world and also to illustrate the manner in which praise was addressed to these sacred names. The similarity of form and conception to those found in the literature considered in previous sections, is clear.

Our examination of praise and blessing in the religious communities which influenced or were contemporary with Early Christianity is now concluded, and this discussion has shown the similarity of conceptions and forms of expressions which existed in all these types of worship. When Christian converts came together in one community from the varying religious backgrounds, they found their companions using forms of expression in worship to which they were already familiar. This is the conservative side of worship. These familiar forms were now given a new content, expressing their new faith. With these considerations made clear we can now turn to a discussion of the doxologies and the benedictions in the epistles of Paul, using the information which has been gained to help us in their elucidation.

3. Benedictions and Doxologies in Early Christian Worship

(A) During the preceding discussion it has become evident, that many of the examples of praise and blessing, which illustrated the forms common in these types of worship which we studied, are similar to the benedictions and doxologies found in the epistles of Paul. This is not surprising in view of the fact that Early Christianity was

based to a large extent upon the Jewish religion and Old Testament conceptions. But it also leads us to an important conclusion, for from this it naturally follows that the benedictions and doxologies in the epistles are not isolated phenomena, appearing only in these epistles, neither are they the creation of Paul himself. They belong rather to a general manifestation of religious life and are found in a circle much wider and older than that of Early Christianity. Their appearance in the epistles forms rather another stage in a general development, which shows itself particularly in the Old Testament and Judaism.

Further, the presumption has already been expressed, that the benedictions and doxologies of the epistles of Paul had their immediate origin in the Christian worship. But it has been shown that the quotations given from Old Testament, Judaism, Mandean literature, etc., definitely represent an aspect of worship, as found in these different sources. These were the forms of praise and blessing developed in worship. Consequently what was before presumption, becomes here a certainty. We can say that Paul used, or heard such benedictions and doxologies in the Christian worship. But not only is this connection made clear, the significance which they possessed in the worship is suggested. The importance of the invocation of the sacred Name in the worship of the Christians has been clearly shown. Now it can be maintained, on the evidence of the previous sections, that the benedictions and doxologies contain examples of the manner in which this invocation was made. The divine presence and activity was secured for the Early Christians by the invocation of the Name ; this invocation made their worship and their rites effective. But, inasmuch as it was public worship, the bare mention of the Name was made richer and more formal by the addition of expressions of praise.

It was clearly the custom in the ancient world to begin many prayers of petition with numerous expressions of praise. This has been illustrated sufficiently in the quotations given in the sections on the Old Testament and Judaism, for many of these quotations were taken from prayers. Only after these expressions of what may be termed invocatory praise were uttered, were the petitions

offered. Now the phrases used in this praise and the manner of expression are similar to those of the doxologies and benedictions. Consequently, it is almost certain that in the creation of these the public prayers must have played a large part, especially when those prayers were written and constantly repeated, as in the synagogue. This is further seen in regard to the Early Christian worship by the close connection which exists between the benedictions and doxologies and that section of Paul's letter known as the proem, i.e., the section which in all probability most clearly reflects Paul's public prayers.

This invocatory praise then was addressed to the sacred Name in order to ensure that the divine Presence should be in the midst ; then at the close of worship that Presence was further communicated to the worshippers by means of the blessing.

The fundamental importance of the mention of the divine Name in the doxologies and benedictions shows particularly clearly in certain passages in 1 and 2 Thessalonians. Instead of the customary elaborate titles, in 1 Th. iii, 12 ; 2 Th. iii, 5 ; iii, 16 the simple phrase ὁ κύριος is used. This expression is by no means uncommon in the letters of Paul, but among the doxologies and benedictions it occurs only in these three passages. 2 Th. iii, 16 seems undoubtedly a reminiscence of the Priest's Blessing of Num. vi, 27, especially the phrase δῴη ὑμῖν τὴν εἰρήνην, and this makes it probable that in this instance the introduction of ὁ κύριος is also due to the Priest's Blessing. The addition τῆς εἰρήνης to ὁ κύριος is simply due to the frequent use of the phrase ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης. The expression ὁ κύριος used thus in blessings suggests that something of the significance which was attached to the Name יהוה in the Priest's Blessing, was carried over into these benedictions, i.e., the utterance of this Name may in some special sense have made the blessing effective. The Name κύριος was, of course, at this time attributed to Christ, so that the title ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς often appears in the benedictions as the powerful, active Name.[1]

This use of ὁ κύριος in the doxologies and benedictions

[1] In 2 Th. ii, 16 the words ὁ θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ follow the phrase αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, but this sequence is rare.

is found only in Thessalonians. The explanation for this may lie in the fact that this form of blessing was often used in the Thessalonian community and, consequently, Paul, writing with that community in mind, uses the familiar form; but the general form with which Paul opened and closed his letters remained uninfluenced by this use. That, further, this use of *ὁ κύριος* was not confined to the Thessalonian community, but was used elsewhere in the Early Christian Church, is proved by its appearance in similar benedictions in the Pastoral epistles.

2 Tim. i, 16. *δῴη ἔλεος ὁ κύριος τῷ Ὀνησιφόρου οἴκῳ.*
2 Tim. i, 18. *δῴη αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος εὑρεῖν ἔλεος παρὰ κυρίου ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.*
2. Tim. iv, 18. *ῥύσεταί με ὁ κύριος ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ.*
2 Tim. iv, 22. *ὁ κύριος μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.*

The usage of this term emphasizes the importance of the Divine Name, but it has already been shown that the Name is no less prominent in many other passages, in which evidence is seen of a desire to express this Name in a fitting and solemn manner.

A further conclusion also seems justified, viz., that the conceptions of praise and blessing which have been shown to be common to the religions which influenced or were contemporary with Early Christianity, will obtain also in the Early Christian worship, though we should not expect to find them in the cruder forms in which they appear elsewhere. These conceptions, as a matter of fact, do become prominent at a later stage in the development of Early Christian worship, as will be shown in succeeding paragraphs. In the epistles of Paul there are, of course, no direct statements in which these conceptions are expressed, but allusions are not completely wanting.

Such an allusion is found in the christological passage, Phil. ii, 6–11. In these verses Paul sets forth the existence of Christ in two pictures. The first portrays Christ's humiliation from His former exaltation, the deepest point of humiliation being the cross; the second portrays His exaltation and refers probably to the Parousia. This second feature, vv. 10–11, is given largely in the language familiar in public worship, as a glance at the phrases used

will show—ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ, ἐξομολογήσηται, the confession κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός. It is possible then that the picture was suggested by the confession of the worshippers in the public services. But the one service among the Early Christians when the death of Jesus and His Parousia stood in such close connection was the eucharist. One remembers especially the passage in 1 Cor. xi, 26, ὁσάκις γὰρ ἐὰν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον πίνητε, τὸν θάνατον τοῦ κύριου καταγγέλλετε ἄχρι οὗ ἔλθῃ. The eucharist, to which only Christian members of the community were admitted, was also the opportunity most suited for a general confession to Jesus Christ. The death of Jesus Christ and the hope of His coming which were thus combined in this service, are set by Paul in their wider cosmological significance and the confession of the small Christian community becomes the confession of all creation. But this confession is said to be εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός. If now the connection with worship which has been made is correct,[1] we can say that Paul regarded the confession of the Name in worship as εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός. Then, in whatever way this confession was made, i.e., whenever the Name was called upon, this invocation also would be εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός.[2]

A further allusion to this conception is found in 2 Cor. i, 20: ὅσαι γὰρ ἐπαγγελίαι θεοῦ, ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ναί. διὸ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀμὴν τῷ θεῷ πρὸς δόξαν δι' ἡμῶν.

The latter phrase of this verse seems reminiscent of the worship, where the congregation unitedly uttered the Amen, 1 Cor. xiv, 6. The promises of God have their affirmation, i.e., they are fulfilled in Jesus, even as through Him the affirmation of the worshippers (τὸ ναί = τὸ ἀμὴν) is expressed.[3]

In 1 Cor. xiv, 16 the amen is described as following the εὐχαριστία, i.e., the prayer of thanksgiving. But it is

[1] W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, p. 89: "Diese kultische gottesdienstliche Würdestellung Jesu fasst Paulus in die grossen erhernen Worte (Phil. ii, 9 ff) zusammen."

[2] E. Lohmeyer regards Phil. ii, 6–11, as "ein in sich geschlossenes carmen Christi" which "aus älterer Tradition übernommen ist" (Kommentar an Phil. Brief). This conception is not fundamentally opposed to the view above—which, indeed, is not intended as an exposition of the passage—but only strengthens the connection of the passage with the Christian community instead of with Paul, and also with Christian worship.

[3] Cf. H. Lietzmann, *Handbuch zum N.T.*

also certain that it was the custom among the Early Christians for the amen to be pronounced after the doxologies and benedictions. This custom is illustrated clearly enough in the following passages: Rom. i, 25; ix, 5; xi, 36; xv, 33; xvi, 27; Gal. i, 5; vi, 18; Eph. iii, 21; Phil. iv, 20; 1 Tim. i, 17; vi, 16; 2 Tim. iv, 18; Heb. xiii, 21; 1 Pet. iv, 11; v, 11; Jude 25; Rev. i, 6; v, 14; vii, 12.[1] All these passages are formulae of praise and blessing and are concluded with the amen and this proves how closely the amen was united with doxologies and benedictions in worship. That the amen was uttered by the whole congregation may be concluded from 1 Cor. xiv, 16, and also from Rev. v, 14 where, after a passage of praise, we read *καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα ζῷα ἔλεγον· ἀμήν*. This is in all probability a reflection of a custom prevalent in worship. The amen was then the affirmation of the whole congregation, i.e., through the amen they identified themselves with the spoken words, and thereby it was as if the words of praise had been uttered by the whole congregation.

W. Bousset writes[2]: "Die kurze Andeutung 2 Cor. i, 20 weist darauf hin, dass die mit dem Amen verbundene Doxologie am Schluss des Gebetes irgendwie mit einem Nennen des Namens Jesu verbunden war." Now it has already been shown that the doxologies served the purpose partly of this invocation in the worship and hence it follows that the amen is then a uniting and participation of the whole congregation in this invocation.

But the amen is described as being *τῷ θεῷ πρὸς δόξαν*.[3] The thought then is near that the invocatory praise is increased through the participation of the congregation in the amen and this larger body of praise serves to increase

[1] This custom is further evidenced for us in the fact that in many important MSS. the amen is added after some doxolcgies, e.g., after Rom. xvi, 24; 1 Cor. xvi, 24; 2 Cor. xiii, 13; Eph. vi, 24; Phil. iv, 33; Col. iv, 18; 1 Th. iii, 13; v, 28; 2 Th. iii, 18; 1 Tim. vi, 21; 2 Tim. iv, 22; Tit. iii, 15; Phm. 25; Heb. xiii, 25; 1 Pet. v, 19; 2 Pet. iii, 18. This addition occurs often in D, sometimes also in ℵ or A, besides other MSS. Further, the added doxology of the Lord's Prayer, which may originally have been a response customary in a Christian community, was ended with the amen. Mt. vi, 13.

Apart from its use in connection with doxologies together with 1 Cor. xiv, 16; 2 Cor. i, 20, the word ἀμὴν does not occur in any of the epistles of the New Testament. Its most frequent use is that of the Synoptic, and especially the Fourth Gospel at the beginning of a sentence.

[2] *Kyrios Christos*, p. 86.

[3] s. G. Boolyer, *idem*, pp. 80–81.

the divine glory. The idea, which lies behind 1 Cor. i, 20, is thus similar to that found in Phil. ii, 9 ff.[1]

Also among the doxologies and benedictions of the epistles of Paul, there is one passage which does hint at this conception, viz., Rom. xv, 5, 6. In this passage the wish is expressed that God may create harmony among the Christians and the purpose and result of this harmony are given in the words : ἵνα ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐν ἑνὶ στόματι δοξάζητε τὸν θεὸν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; i.e., an activity of God in the Christian life reacts to cause "a chorus of praise and glory"[2] to God, and this refers undoubtedly to public praise. And with this passage may be compared 2 Th. i, 11, 12, where the prayer is uttered, that God may fulfil πᾶσαν εὐδοκίαν ἀγαθωσύνης καὶ ἔργον πίστεως, and the results of this are ὅπως ἐνδοξασθῇ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυριοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν.

These considerations lead us then to a conclusion regarding the significance of the doxologies and benedictions in the Early Christian worship. In view of all the evidence which has been offered, we are justified in regarding the doxologies as forms of solemn liturgical invocation of the Divine Name. In phrases such as are represented in the doxologies the Christians invoked God or Christ and so assured themselves of the divine Presence in their worship. Further, this praise seems to have been regarded, in what has been shown as a common manner, i.e., as increasing the divine glory. According to Old Testament usage the Divine Name was magnified by means of this praise. The benedictions were then the means through which the power of the Name was communicated to the worshippers and remained with them.

So far we have been speaking of the significance of the doxologies and benedictions in the Christian worship. But it has already been pointed out that the epistles of Paul

[1] A substantiation of this conception of the amen is given in the worship of the synagogue. "Bei den gottesdienstlichen Feiern hatte nach jüdischer Sitte die ganze Gemeinde Amen zu sagen, nach den eizelnen Lobsprüchen . . ., nach jedem der drei Absätze, in denen die Priester den ahraonitnischen Segen Num. vi, 24–27 erteilten." "Im Tempelgottesdienst wurde statt des Amens gesagt : Gepreisen sei der Name deines herrlichen Reiches immer und ewiglich," i.e., the amen was substitution for a doxology, spoken by all the worshippers and addressed to the Divine Name. Strack u. Billerbeck *Kommentur zum N.T. aus Talmud und Midrasch* 3, 456 ff.

[2] J. Moffatt, *A New Translation of the New Testament*.

had a very close connection with worship, and that Paul intended them to be read publicly in the meetings of the Christians. Consequently, the position and significance of the doxologies and benedictions in the epistles of Paul can hardly have been different from their position and significance in worship. So the statements which have been made above regarding worship, apply also to the epistles of Paul.

Further substantiation for these statements will be given in an examination of the development through which doxologies and benedictions passed in the Early Church, and in this examination the significance which was attached to them will become clearer.

(B) We turn now to the later writings of the New Testament and to other early but non-canonical Christian literature, for in all these writings benedictions and doxologies are found, revealing a considerable development in this side of Christian worship. These writings also reveal the underlying conceptions more clearly.

The reason why these conceptions become evident only in the later literature is not far to seek. The Christian movement did not lead immediately at the beginning to the establishment of public worship, with its set forms. The earliest Christians in Jerusalem seem to have confined themselves to meeting in the Temple and to "breaking bread" in their homes; Acts ii, 46. The chief concern of the Apostles after Pentecost was to preach their message, in view of the expected quick return of the Lord; and Paul, although undoubtedly he gave rules for the organization of the communities, yet had the desire to take his message as far as possible. To the earliest Christians, who believed themselves to be living in a temporary period, which would soon reach its termination, the proclamation of the message was the most important task. Thus the regular forms of worship, which were customary to the Christians in their former faiths, were only gradually brought over into their new faith. But as the Parousia was delayed and the communities grew stronger, the problems of organization increased and definite forms of worship were developed.

At the same time there is evidence that quite early in the

development, definite forms of expression were becoming common and these are found especially in ascriptions of praise to God and in reference to Christ.

The earliest of such expressions appear to be contained in the speeches of the Acts. These speeches in their present form are undoubtedly the composition of Luke, but they contain older elements.[1] At any rate the passages which will now be quoted belong to an earlier stage of the development than the benedictions and doxologies of the epistles of Paul.

There is, of course, no description of Christian worship in the Acts, but perhaps the short prayer in iv, 24–30, may be taken as an example of the prayers uttered in Christian gatherings. The prayer commences thus : *δέσποτα, σὺ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος Δαυὶδ παιδός σου εἰπών* . . . (a quotation from Ps. ii, 1) . . . *συνήχθησαν γὰρ ἐπ' ἀληθείαις ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον παῖδά σου Ἰησοῦν, ὃν ἔχρισας, Ἡρῴδης τε καὶ Πόντιος Πιλᾶτος σὺν ἔθνεσιν καὶ λαοῖς Ἰσραήλ, ποιῆσαι ὅσα ἡ χείρ σου καὶ ἡ βουλὴ προώρισεν γενέσθαι*—then follows the petition. This is a familiar type of opening with its sentences of praise. Expressions similar to the opening of this prayer—*σὺ ὁ ποιήσας . . . ἐν αὐτοῖς*—are also found Acts xiv, 15 ; xvii, 24, and in these phrases there are no particularly Christian elements. Other expressions of praise found in the speeches of the Book of Acts are : *ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν*, iii, 13 ; *ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων*, v, 20 ; *ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης*, vii, 2 ; *ὁ θεὸς τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου Ἰσραήλ*, xiii, 17 ; *ὁ καρδιογνώστης θεός*, xv, 8.

The tendency to create and increase titles for Jesus is more prominent than this.

iii, 14, *τὸν ἅγιον καὶ δίκαιον, τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς.*
v, 30, *ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σωτῆρα.*
ii, 22 ; iv, 10 ; x, 38, *Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον.*
ix, 20, *ὁ ὡρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν.*
iii, 13, 26, *τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν.*

[1] In regard to the speeches of the Acts, M. Dibelius writes : "Der Gebrauch altertümlicher Ausdrücke und die ungefüge Art der Zusammersetzung scheinen zu zeigen, dass der Verfasser bereits gerrägte Formulierungen verwendet." *Geschichte der Urchristlichen Literatur*, Vol. ii, p. 55.

ix, 20 ; xvii, 3 ; xxvi, 13, ὁ Χριστὸς.
vii, 54 ; xi, 21 ; xvi, 31, κύριος Ἰησοῦς.
xv, 26 ; xx, 21, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς.

It is not maintained here that there were fixed titles, used among all Christian communities. They were probably phrases coined in Christian preaching. The repetition of the same message and the same facts in preaching, and presumably also in prayers would tend to create definite forms of expression, especially in regard to Jesus, but as yet these forms are quite simple.

If now the doxologies of Paul's epistles are compared with these phrases, there can be no doubt that a considerable development has taken place. The phrases have become richer in expression, the titles for God especially have increased while the mention of the earthly activity of Jesus has decreased. But with this increase in titles, new forms have not been created ; rather, expressions and forms which were familiar in the Old Testament and Judaism, are used. But the most significant development is that now the names of God and Christ are placed together, the name of God usually appearing first, though the order is sometimes reversed, 2 Cor. xiii, 13 ; 2 Th. ii, 16. This frequent placing of the two names together,[1] marks a decided advance in the position which Jesus occupied in the minds of the worshippers. Nevertheless on the other side, there are also phrases in which he is subordinate to the Father, e.g., ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, 2 Cor. i, 3 ; Eph. i, 3 ; Rom. xv, 6 ; 2 Cor. xi, 31. These facts are sufficient to show that praises and prayers were still directed to God, but that the name of the Lord Jesus Christ was being exalted to an ever higher position, so that finally it could be joined with the name of God Himself.

In the process of development which continued markedly in the Early Christian literature, the doxologies naturally occupy a much more prominent position than the benedictions ; for the nature of a benediction restricts its increase, while expressions of praise can be multiplied innumerably. The development of benedictions will there-

[1] Cf. the greetings at the beginning of the epistles, with the exceptions of 1 Th. and Gal. ; also Eph. vi, 24 ; 2 Th. iii, 5 ; 1 Cor. viii, 6 ; 1 Th. iii, 11.

fore first be shown, and then the more important development of the doxologies.

(*a*) The benedictions which we find in Paul's epistles seem to have been in general use throughout the Early Church. Additions of course were made to the shorter benedictions, these additions being chiefly in the mention of God or Christ.

The benedictions which occur at the end of Paul's letters and which as we have seen, varied considerably, are also present in the Pastoral Epistles, but here there is no mention of the Divine Name. The simple phrase is used *ἡ χάρις μεθ' ὑμῶν,* 1 Tim. vi, 21 ; 2 Tim. iv, 22 ; Tit. iii, 15 (and also Heb. xiii, 25 ; Rev. xxii, 21). Paul also used this short form in one letter, Col. iv, 18. It is hardly conceivable that such a short, simple phrase should have been used in public worship, and yet it was undoubtedly a familiar and well-established expression, for in 1 Tim. iv, 22 it follows the phrase *ὁ κύριος μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου*—and *ὑμῶν* immediately after *σου* is surprising. We remember also that the Pastorals were written nominally to individual persons. Similar benedictions are not found in the other letters of the New Testament, nor in the letters of Ignatius. Clement of Rome, however, in his letter to the Corinthians, uses a similar benediction, but he enlarges it by means of expressions of praise : *ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ μετὰ πάντων πανταχῇ τῶν κεκλημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ, δι' οὗ αὐτῷ δόξα, τιμή, κράτος καὶ μεγαλωσύνη, θρόνος αἰώνιος, ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.* Barnabas changes the benediction thus : *ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης καὶ πάσης χάριτος μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν.*

This tendency to increase the benedictions by means of expressions of praise, is also seen in the development of the benedictions with which Paul commences his letters. The sentence which Paul usually used is found also at the beginning of the letter to Titus : *χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ* . . . But in 1 Tim. i, 2 ; 2 Tim. i, 2 a slight change has taken place and we have the phrase *χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ* . . . . This addition is evidently due to the Jewish expression *ἔλεος καὶ εἰρήνη* which is found in Baruch lxxviii, 2 ; Tobit vii, 11, and which Paul also uses in one passage of his letters, Gal. vi, 16, *εἰρήνη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ*

ἔλεος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ. Other changes to this simple benediction are further illustrated in the following passages :

1 Pet. i, 2, χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη πληθυνθείη;
Jude 2, ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη πληθυνθείη.
2 Pet. i, 2, χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη πληθυνθείη ἐν ἐπιγνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.
2 John, i, 3, ἔσται μεθ' ἡμων χάρις ἔλεος εἰρήνη παρὰ θεοῦ πατρός, καὶ παρὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ πατρός, ἐν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ἀγάπῃ.

Polycarp has a similar but enlarged form of the benediction used in 1 Tim., ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη παρὰ θεοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πληθυνθείη.

In this connection one fact may be mentioned, viz., the complete change of the Pauline expression κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ by the Pastorals into Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν (Titus has Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν). In the doxologies and benedictions, of Paul's epistles the two names are always in the order Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, in those of the Pastoral Epistles always Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, with the single exception of 1 Tim. vi, 16. This difference may be due merely to a different author and then the two expressions could be those in common use in separate communities, but it may also be in line with the tendency of Early Christianity to assign to Jesus an increasingly exalted position.

But in addition to these short simple benedictions, more fully expanded blessings are also found in 1 Pet. v, 10, 11 ; Heb. xiii, 28. The first passage, 1 Pet. v, 10, 11 is hardly a wish since all the verbs are in the future indicative,[1] but otherwise it bears all the characteristics of the benedictions. The passage is as follows : ὁ δὲ θεὸς πάσης χάριτος, ὁ καλέσας ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐν Χριστῷ, ὀλίγον παθόντας αὐτὸς καταρτίσει, στηρίξει, σθενώσει, θεμελιώσει. αὐτῷ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Heb. xiii, 20, ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης, ὁ ἀναγαγὼν ἐκ νεκρῶν τὸν ποιμένα τῶν προβάτων τὸν μέγαν ἐν αἵματι διαθήκης αἰωνίου, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν, καταρτίσαι ὑμᾶς ἐν παντὶ ἀγαθῷ εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ,

[1] Paul also uses the future indicative in passages which are almost a wish. Cf. Phil. iv 7, ; Rom. xvi, 20.

ποιῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ εὐάρεστον ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Similarly Barn. xxi, 5 contains an expanded blessing : *ὁ δὲ θεὸς, ὁ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου κυριεύων, δῴη ὑμῖν σοφίαν, σύνεσιν, ἐπιστήμην, γνῶσιν τῶν δικαιωμάτων αὐτοῦ, ὑπομονήν.* Finally the blessing in I Clement lxiv must be quoted, for here the simple benediction has been increased by a multitude of phrases, whose form and, often, expressions are very familiar. *λοιπὸν ὁ παντεπόπτης θεὸς καὶ δεσπότης τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ κύριος πάσης σαρκός, ὁ ἐκλεξάμενος τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτοῦ εἰς λαὸν περιούσιον, δῴη πάσῃ ψυχῇ ἐπικεκλημένῃ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ ἅγιον ὄνομα αὐτοῦ πίστιν, φόβον, εἰρήνην, ὑπομονὴν καὶ μακροθυμίαν ἐγκράτειαν, ἁγνειάν καὶ σωφροσύνην, εἰς εὐαρέστησιν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ προστάτου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ αὐτῷ δόξα καὶ μεγαλωσύνη, κράτος καὶ τιμή, καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.*

The quotations which have now been given show that the benedictions were gradually increased and also illustrate the manner in which this increase was made. The majority of the additional phrases are expressions of praise. So the development which occurred in regard to benedictions can be seen more clearly in an examination of the doxologies.

(*b*) Before the evidence for the development of doxologies is set forth, however, certain explanations, which will make the following paragraphs clearer, are necessary.

It will be found that the literature from which quotations have been made, includes the Book of Revelation. A word may be given regarding the quotations from this book. Revelation contains many passages, e.g., i, 4–7 ; iv, 8–11 ; vii, 10–12 ; xi, 15–19 ; xii, 10–12 ; xv, 3 ff. ; xix, 1–7 ; xxi, 3 ff. which have the character of hymns, and it seems probable that hymns similar to these were used in worship. This connection with worship is also rendered more certain by the similarity of these passages in Revelation with the doxologies under discussion. These passages, therefore, can be used as evidence for a type of doxology common in Early Christian worship.

Further, many quotations will be found from the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. These books were admittedly written at a later date, and originated from a different source than the other writings which have been brought

under discussion. They also reveal many Gnostic tendencies and conceptions. But at the same time there can be no doubt that they originated in Christian circles ; in fact in these books we seem to touch a more popular type of Christianity than is represented in the classic Christian writings. Consequently the development which draws its evidence from the Apocryphal Acts will represent ideas, existing among many Christian communities which were influenced considerably by their environment in the Hellenistic world.

Finally, a word must be given regarding the method of the succeeding discussion. In the preceding discussion upon the benedictions and doxologies in Paul's epistles, no attempt was made to distinguish these according to their varying characteristics, for in view of their considerable similarity they were more easily examined together. Now, however, certain distinguishing features which emerge more clearly in their development, will be isolated, and thus similarities and differences will both be shown more clearly, so revealing the whole process of development.

(1.) In the course of time certain expressions seem almost entirely to have dropped out of use, while others were used increasingly and so developed. One such phrase is *αὐτῷ* or *ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*, which occurs several times in the doxologies of Paul's epistles, e.g., Gal. i, 5 ; Rom. xvi, 27; Phil. iv, 20, and which was also a common expression in Judaism. Its frequent use among Christians is further seen in the numerous passages of Christian writings in which it occurs, e.g., 2 Tim. iv, 8 ; Heb. xiii, 21 ; 2 Pet. iii, 18 ; 1 Clement xxxii, 4 ; xliii, 6 ; l, 7 ; lviii, 2 ; Didache ix, 2 ; ix, 3 ; Acts of Peter iii, 29. We find also many expressions similar to this but with slight changes, which are usually due to the use of words and phrases frequent in the Old Testament or in Judaism, e.g.,

1 Tim. vi, 16, *ᾧ τιμὴ καὶ κράτος αἰώνιον.*

1 Tim. i, 17, . . . *θεῷ τιμὴ καὶ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.* Cf. 1 Pet. iv, 11.

1 Pet. v, 11, *αὐτῷ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας . . .*

1 Clem. xx, 12 ; lxi, 3, *σοι ἡ δόξα καὶ μεγαλωσύνη καὶ νῦν . . .*

1 Clem. lxiv, *αὐτῷ δόξα καὶ μεγαλωσύνη, κράτος καὶ τιμή καὶ νῦν . . .*

1 Clem. lxv, 2, *αὐτῷ δόξα, τιμή, κράτος καὶ μεγαλωσύνη θρόνος αἰώνιος, ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων . . .*

Did. ix, 4, *σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις.* Cf. Did. x, 5.

But this simple expression was not always used. Out of it there seem to have been developed longer expressions of praise, several examples of which are found in Revelation e.g.

Rev. iv, 11, *ἄξιος εἶ, ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, λαβεῖν τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, ὅτι σὺ ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα, καὶ διὰ τὸ θέλημά σου ἦσαν καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν.*

Rev. v, 12, *ἄξιος ἐστιν τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἐσφαγμένον λαβεῖν τὴν δύναμιν και πλοῦτον καὶ σοφίαν καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ εὐλογίαν.*

Rev. vii, 12, *ἀμήν, ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ εὐχαριστία καὶ ἡ τίμὴ καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.*

There can be no doubt that these hymns which the writer of Revelation hears as sung by the celestial beings, were the words of praise actually used by the Christians on earth, for the similarity which they bear to the short phrase mentioned above is evident. The words of Rev. iv, 9 could indeed aptly describe the offering of praise by the Christians in their assemblies : *καὶ ὅταν δώσουσιν τὰ ζῷα δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. . . .* In this connection we may also compare the following passages :

Martyrdom of Polycarp, xiv, 3 . . . *σὲ αἰνῶ, σὲ εὐλογῶ, σὲ δοξάζω διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ ἐπουρανίου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδός, δι᾽ οὗ σοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας.* This passage demonstrates not merely an expansion of the original simple phrase, but also the development of theological conception since Paul's day, for here praise is addressed to the Trinity, while Paul is careful to address such praises to God only.

Acts of Thomas lx. *δόξα τῷ μονογενεῖ τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρός, δόξα τῷ πρωτοτόκῳ τῶν πολλῶν ἀδελφῶν, δόξα σοι τῷ ἐπαμύντορι καὶ βοηθῷ τῶν εἰς τὸ καταφύγιόν σου ἐρχομένων· ὁ ἄυπνος καὶ τοὺς ἐν ὕπνῳ διεγείρων, ὁ ζῶν καὶ ζωοποιῶν τοὺς ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ*

κατακειμένους· θεὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος υἱέ, ὁ λυτρωτὴς καὶ βοηθός . . . . etc.[1]

Apart from this expansion of the original expression, another pattern of sentence was also developed. As in the original phrase this preserved the dative at the beginning, but increased the passage of praise to considerable length. Examples of this are found again in the hymns of Revelation and also elsewhere.

Rev. i, 5, 6. *τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς καὶ λύσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.*

Rev. v, 13. *τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.*

1 Tim. i, 17. *τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων, ἀφθάρτῳ, ἀοράτῳ μόνῳ θεῷ, τιμὴ καὶ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.*

These passages illustrate the manner in which the original, simple expression was developed, and in the course of this development still fuller and longer passages were created, e.g., Eph. iii, 20–21 ; Jude 24, 25 ; Rom. xvi, 25–27. Martyrdom of Polycarp, xx, 2. All these passages, however, seem to have been constructed carefully and deliberately, and may therefore be literary products based upon the model of the simple formula, which was used so much in worship.

Eph. iii, 20–21. *τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ ὑπὲρ πάντα ποιῆσαι ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ ὧν αἰτούμεθα ἢ νοοῦμεν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἐνεργουμένην ἐν ἡμῖν, αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων.*

Jude 24, 25. *τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ φυλάξαι ὑμᾶς ἀπταίστους καὶ στῆσαι κατενώπιον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἀμώμους ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει, μόνῳ θεῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν δόξα μεγαλωσύνη κράτος καὶ ἐξουσία πρὸ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.*

Martyrdom of Polycarp, xx, 2. *τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰσαγαγεῖν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι καὶ δωρεᾷ εἰς τὴν αἰώνιαν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν, διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, τοῦ μονογενοῦς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δόξα, τιμή, κράτος, μεγαλωσύνη εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.*

[1] This and the succeeding quotations from the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostle are taken from *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, edited by R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet.

A similar passage, but one which bears the literary characteristics more clearly is Rom. xvi, 25–27. A comparison of this passage with the others shows that it was due to a deliberate attempt to provide a complete suitable doxology as the conclusion of a book : *τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ ὑμᾶς στηρίξαι κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν μυστηρίου χρόνοις αἰωνίοις σεσιγημένου, φανερωθέντος δὲ νῦν διά τε γραφῶν προφητικῶν κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ αἰωνίου θεοῦ εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη γνωρισθέντος, μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ, διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.*[1]

In these passages then we see clearly how a simple sentence of praise was developed into increasingly complicated and expanded sentences, and this same development applies to all the forms of praise. But that does not mean that the development which has been illustrated commenced with Paul and reached its fuller form in the second century. The simple form was always used in the Christian communities, but the use of expanded forms by the Christians can be proved with certainty only after the lifetime of Paul.

(2.) Another type of doxological sentence concerns itself with the divine attributes. Here the thought of the worshipper is directed to the activity or being of the Divine and this gives an opportunity for increasing the expressions of praise. In the letters of Paul such expressions are still quite short and simple, e.g., *ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης, τῆς ἀγάπης*, etc. But already in the time in which the Pastoral Epistles were written this has been changed, e.g., 1 Tim. vi, 15–16 : . . . *μέχρι τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἣν καιροῖς ἰδίοις δείξει ὁ μακάριος καὶ μόνος δυνάστης, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων, ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἀθανασίαν, φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον, ὃν εἶδεν οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ ἰδεῖν δύναται· ᾧ τιμὴ καὶ κράτος αἰώνιον.*

A longer passage, but of similar nature though constructed with the aid of participial clauses, is found in 1 Clement lix, 3. . . . *ἐλπίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχεγόνον πάσης κτίσεως ὄνομά σου, ἀνοίξας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ γινώσκειν σε τὸν μόνον ὕψιστον ἐν ὑψίστοις, ἅγιον ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενον· τὸν ταπεινοῦντα ὕβριν ὑπερηφάνων, τὸν διαλύοντα*

[1] No further remarks concerning this passage will be made here, for it is discussed at greater length in the concluding chapter.

λογισμοὺς ἐθνῶν, τὸν ποιοῦντα ταπεινοὺς εἰς ὕψος καὶ τοὺς ὑψηλοὺς ταπεινοῦντα, τὸν πλουτίζοντα καὶ πτωχίζοντα, τὸν ἀποκτείνοντα καὶ ζῆν ποιοῦντα, μόνον εὐεργέτην πνευμάτων καὶ θεὸν πάσης σαρκός . . .

I Clement lx. σὺ γὰρ τὴν ἀέναον τοῦ κόσμου σύστασιν διὰ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων ἐφανεροποίησας· σὺ κύριε, τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔκτισας, ὁ πιστὸς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς, δίκαιος ἐν τοῖς κρίμασιν, θαυμαστὸς ἐν ἰσχύϊ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ, ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῷ κτίζειν καὶ συνετὸς ἐν τῷ τὰ γενόμενα ἑδράσαι . . .

Shorter phrases of a similar nature occur also Rev. i, 8 ; iv, 8 ; x, 6 ; xvi, 7.

(3.) Other expressions of praise, which are of a more general character, and which probably originated in prayers or hymns, show this same tendency to become longer. Revelation contains many such expressions from which some examples may be given.

Rev. i, 4. ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος . . .

Rev. i, 5. . . . ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός, ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς.

Rev. i, 17. ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος.

Rev. iv, 8. ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος ὁ θεὸς, ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

Rev. xv, 3, 4. μεγάλη καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ ἔργα σου, κύρις ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ· δίκαιαι καὶ ἀληθιναὶ αἱ ὁδοί σου, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν· τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ, κύριε, καὶ δοξάσει τὸ ὄνομά σου; ὅτι μόνος ὅσιος, ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἥξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου, ὅτι τὰ δικαιώματά σου ἐφανερώθησαν.

Rev. xix, 1, 2. ἀλληλουϊά· ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἀληθιναὶ καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις αὐτοῦ· ὅτι ἔκρινεν τὴν πόρνην τὴν μεγάλην ἥτις ἔφθειρεν τὴν γῆν ἐν τῇ πορνείᾳ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐξεδίκησεν τὸ αἷμα τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτῆς.

Compare also Rev. ii, 8 ; iii, 7, 14 ; iv, 11 ; v, 5, 9, 10, 12 ; vii, 10, 12 ; x, 6 ; xi, 5, 7–18 ; xii, 10 ; xvi, 5–7 ; xix, 7, 8.

Familiar forms of praise were also used often in prayer, and of this a quotation from I Clement gives a clear example. Clem. lxi, 2, σὺ γάρ, δέσποτα, ἐπουράνιε βασιλεῦ τῶν αἰώνων, δίδως τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ ἐξουσίαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὑπαρχόντων· σὺ κύριε, διεύθυνον τὴν βουλὴν αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ καλὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον ἐνώπιόν σου, ὅπως διέποντες ἐν εἰρήνῃ

καὶ πραΰτητι εὐσεβῶς τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ αὐτοῖς δεδομένην ἐξουσίαν ἵλεω σου τυγχάνωσιν· ὁ μόνος δυνατὸς ποιῆσαι ταῦτα καὶ περισσότερα ἀγαθὰ μεθ' ἡμῶν, σοὶ ἐξομολογούμεθα διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ προστάτου τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ σοι ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ μεγαλωσύνη καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς γενεὰν γενεῶν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Compare also Clem. xxiii, 1; xxxv, 3; lix, 60.

A similar example is found in the prayer of Polycarp, recorded in Martyr. Polyc. xiv: *κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατήρ, δι' οὗ τὴν περὶ σοῦ ἐπίγνωσιν εἰλήφαμεν, ὁ θεὸς ἀγγέλων καὶ δυνάμεων καὶ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως παντός τε τοῦ γένους τῶν δικαίων, οἳ ζῶσιν ἐνώπιόν σου· εὐλογῶ σε . . .*

Acts of John lxxix. *τὸν μόνον θεόν σε ὄντα ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν ὑπερμεγέθη, τὸν ἄφραστον, τὸν ἀκατάληπτον· ᾧ πᾶσα δύναμις ἀρχοντικὴ ὑποτέτακται· ᾧ πᾶσα ἐξουσία ἔκλινεν· ᾧ πᾶσα ἀλαζονεία προπεσοῦσα ἡσυχάζει· ὃν δαίμονες ἀκούοντες φρίτουσιν· ὃν ἡ κτίσις ὅλη καταμαθοῦσα μετριάζει· δοξασθήτω σου τὸ ὄνομα ὑφ' ἡμῶν . . .*

(4.) The quotations which have now been given are all examples of praise addressed to God. In the epistles of Paul indeed, praise is invariably addressed to God,[1] although it has already been noticed that the names of God and Christ are often united. This occurs, however, much more frequently in the benedictions than in the doxologies. The customary phrase, for example, in the benedictions *θεὸς πατὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς* is in the doxologies sometimes changed to *θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, and sometimes the name of Christ is inserted thus: *διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*

Now the remarkable feature of the doxologies and benedictions both in the epistles of Paul and in other early Christian literature, is that they contain very few definitely Christian elements. If indeed we take away from them the name, Jesus Christ, there is nothing left which would not be as suitable in a Jewish context as in its present one. All the forms which we have examined above are familiar to us from our study of the Old Testament and Judaism. Many of the expressions used were also taken over from these

[1] Rom. ix, 5 is the only passage which could be brought into question in this connection; and it will be discussed later.

sources, while others were created on similar lines.[1] These familiar forms and expressions were now made suitable for use in Christian literature and worship by the addition of the name of Christ, though for some time there was considerable hesitancy in addressing praises directly to Christ.

The whole tendency which was at work among the early Christians has been summed up thus,[2] " while on the one hand, prayers in public worship continued to be directed to God and not to Christ, on the other hand, the name of Christ appeared, significantly, in every prayer ; short ejaculatory petitions, often voicing a personal need, were directed to Him ; and, finally, hymns of praise were sung to Him." This indicates that while there was a reluctance in worship to place Christ on an equality with God, yet He was worshipped and had divine honours paid to Him. The process of addressing praises directly to Christ began quite early in the Christian development, and thus arose the definitely Christian doxologies. This does not mean that the form of the doxology was altered at all. New forms were not created, but the old forms now received a new and definitely Christian content.

In 2 Tim. iv, 18 is the phrase *ῥύσεταί με ὁ κύριος ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονησοῦ καὶ σώσει εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπουράνιον· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.* There can be little doubt that *ὁ κύριος* in this passage is used in reference to Christ, for this title was often used for Him at that time, as the following passages in 2 Tim. show : i, 18 ; ii, 22, 24 ; iv, 8. The expression *τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ* points also to *ὁ κύριος* as referring to Jesus, cf. 2 Tim. iv, 1. Here then is an early example of a customary expression of praise addressed now to Christ.

And with this passage we may compare 2 Pet. iii, 18. . . . *αὐξάνετε δὲ ἐν χάριτι καὶ γνώσει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος*

[1] E.g. *ὁ παντοκράτωρ* Rev. i, 8 ; *τὸν ταπεινᾶντα ὕβριν ὑπερηφάνων* ; *τὸν ἀποκτείνοντα καὶ ζῆν ποιοῦντα* 1 Clem. Compare also praises in which the activity of God in nature is represented, e.g., Acts of John lxxv, of Peter iii, 2 ; 1 Clem. lxi, 2 ; lx. Also *ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων, ὁ κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων,* 1 Tim. vi, 16—although these seem to have been in use in Judaism.

Commentary on Pastorals by M. Dibelius, who writes of the former expression, " Diese Bezeichnung scheint sich gebildet zu haben in Gegensatz zu den Titulaturen orientalischer Könige, vgl. 2 Macc. xiii, 4 ; 3 Macc. v, 35 mit Ez. xxvi, 7 ; Dan. ii, 37 ; 2 Esra vii, 12." He also quotes the phrase used in the Synagogues:

מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵי הַמְּלָכִים

[2] A. B. Macdonald, *Christian Worship in the Primitive Church*, p. 96.

Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς ἡμέραν αἰῶνος.

In this connection also Eph. v, 19 becomes significant. If this passage is compared with the parallel passage in Col. iii, 16, a development is very clearly seen, for according to Col. iii, 16 hymns are addressed to God—ᾄδοντες ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν τῷ θεῷ—but in Eph. v, 19, the following change has been made, ψάλλοντες τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῷ κυρίῳ . . . ; and κύριος is clearly to be taken as a reference to Christ.[1] "Die kultische Bedeutung des 'Herrn' Jesus ist im Wachsen begriffen."[2] Evidence also from a somewhat later date for this growing practice among the Christians is provided in the despatch of Pliny to the Emperor Trajan, in which Pliny states that the Christians assemble on a fixed day "carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere."[3]

Among the hymns found in Revelation many are directed to God, but others are addressed directly to Christ, e.g., Rev. i, 6 : τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς καὶ λύσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Rev. v, 13 : τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Compare also Rev. vii, 10.

These expressions of praise to Christ, however, are not abundant in the Early Christian literature, and as yet it was still evidently only a slowly growing tendency. But in the Apocryphal Acts this tendency has become a settled custom, and the writers of these books show no hesitation at all in addressing long passages of praise to Christ, e.g., Acts of John cviii. . . . ὁ μόνος εὐεργέτης καὶ ἀνυπερήφανος, ὁ μόνος ἐλεήμων καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, ὁ μόνος σωτὴρ καὶ δίκαιος, ὁ ἀεὶ ὁρῶν τὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ὢν καὶ πανταχοῦ παρὼν καὶ τὰ πάντα περιέχων καὶ πληρῶν τὰ πάντα Χριστὲ Ἰησοῦ θεὲ κύριε, ὁ ταῖς σαῖς δωρεαῖς καὶ τῷ σῷ ἐλέει περισκεπάζων τοὺς ἐπὶ σε ἐλπίζοντας . . .

Acts of John lxxxii. ὁ θεὸς τῶν αἰώνων Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, ὁ παρασχόμενός μοι ἰδεῖν τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα, ὁ χαρισάμενός μοι τοῦ ὀνόματός σου κοινωνὸν γενέσθαι . . . Compare also lxxxv, cix.

[1] Cf. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, p. 286.

[2] M. Dibelius, *Handbuch zum N.T.* in his commentary on this passage.

[3] Pliny, Ep. x, 96.

Acts of Thomas, xxxix. *ὦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ νοερὲ τῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας τῆς τελείας· ὦ ἡ ἡσυχία καὶ ἡ ἠρεμία, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζῴοις νῦν λαλούμενε· ὦ ἀπόκρυφε ἀνάπαυσις καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐνεργείας φανερούμενε σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ τροφεῦ, διαφυλάσσων ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀναπαύων ἐν σώμασιν ἀλλοτρίοις· ὁ σωτὴρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν· ἡ βρύσις ἡ γλυκεῖα καὶ ἄληκτος, ἡ πηγὴ ἡ εὐκατάστατος καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ μηδέποτε θολουμένη· . . . ὁ ἀγαθὸς ποιμὴν ὁ ἑαυτὸν ἐκδοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων προβάτων καὶ τὸν λύκον νικήσας καὶ λυτρωσάμενος τοὺς ἰδίους ἄρνας καὶ εἰς νομὴν ἀγαθὴν ἀγαγών· δοξάζομεν καὶ ὑμνοῦμεν σὲ . . .*

Acts of Thomas xlvii, . . . *Ἰησοῦ ἄνθρωπε, πεφονευμένε νεκρὲ τεθαμμένε· Ιησοῦ θεὲ ἐκ θεοῦ, σωτὴρ ὁ τοὺς νεκροὺς ζωοποιῶν καὶ τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἰώμενος· Ἰησοῦ ὁ ἐπιδεόμενος ὥσπερ καὶ σῴζων ὡς ἀνενδεής, ὁ τοὺς ἰχθύας θηρεύων εἰς τὸ ἄριστον καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, ὁ πάντας ἐν πλησμονῇ καθιστῶν ἐν μικρῷ ἄρτῳ· . . . ὁ πολύμορφος, ὁ μονογενὴς ὑπάρχων, ὁ πρωτότοκος πολλῶν ἀδελφῶν, θεὲ ἐκ θεοῦ ὑψίστου, ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ καταφρονούμενος ἕως ἄρτι . . .* etc.

Acts of Thomas x. *ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου, ὁ συνοδοιπόρος τῶν αὐτοῦ δούλων, ὁ ὁδηγῶν καὶ εὐθύνων τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύοντας, ἡ καταφυγὴ καὶ ἡ ἀνάπαυσις τῶν τεθλιμμένων . . . ὁ τὸν κόσμον ζωοποιῶν καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐνδυναμῶν, σὺ ἐπίστασαι τὰ μέλλοντα, ὃς καὶ δι' ἡμῶν τελειοῖς αὐτά· . . . Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ τῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας υἱὸς καὶ τέλειος σωτήρ, Χριστὲ υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, ἡ δύναμις ἡ ἀπτόητος ἡ τὸν ἐχθρὸν καταστρέψασα . . .* etc. Cf. also lx, lxxx, cxxxii.

These phrases are far removed from those of the New Testament and they reveal a different habit of mind from that of the earliest Christians. Whereas the earliest Christians were accustomed to addressing praise to the Divine in the familiar phrases of the Old Testament or of the synagogue and consequently were restrained in this respect in their Christian worship, the Christians of the second century were more accustomed to a worship which had its centre in Christ, and so quickly and easily learnt to address their praises to Him, and multiplied these expressions without restraint. The reflections of this popular worship are found in the Apocryphal Acts.

(C) Now that the development of the doxologies and benedictions in the Early Christian worship has been sketched, a few remarks may be added, in order to

strengthen the view held concerning the significance which was attached to praise and blessing.

There can be no doubt that in the Apocryphal Acts and therefore in the popular Christianity which these writings represent, the doxologies were often used as an invocation of God or Christ. The Divine Name occupies an important place in these writings and that Name was called upon by means of the doxologies. But it is even more significant that this invocation was often made before an event in which the activity of the Name was particularly prominent. Before baptism, the eucharist, healings or miracles, i.e., before those events in which the divine power, which could be released by the invocation of the Divine Name, was particularly desired, praises were addressed in and to the Name. The abundance of these praises, consciously increased, seems then to indicate that through this abundant praise the power of the Name was increased in order for its activity. Examples of this are :

Acts of John lxxix—here is given a long passage of praise which ends with the words : *δοξασθήτω σου τὸ ὄνομα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀνέγειρον Δρουσιανήν* . . . The power is then effective and Drusiana is raised from the dead.

Acts of Thomas lxxx—the following prayer is offered before a miracle : *σοὶ δόξα ἐλεῆμον καὶ ἥρεμε· σοὶ δόξα λόγε σοφέ· δόξα τῇ εὐσπλαγχνίᾳ σου τῇ ἐπικυηθείσῃ ἡμῖν· δόξα τῷ ἐλέει σου τῷ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἁπλωθέντι· δόξα τῇ μεγαλωσύνῃ σου τῇ δι' ἡμᾶς σμικρυνθείσῃ· δόξα τῇ ὑψίστῳ σου βασιλείᾳ ἥτις δι' ἡμᾶς ἐταπεινώθη . . . σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐπουράνιος λόγος τοῦ πατρός· σὺ εἶ τὸ ἀπόκρυφον φῶς τοῦ λογισμοῦ, ὁ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑποδεικνύων τῆς ἀληθείας, διώκτα τοῦ σκότους καὶ τῆς πλάνης ἐξαλειπτά.*

The Name was often used in this almost magical manner, cf. Acts of Thomas liii, lxxiv ; Acts of Paul iii.

This glorification of the Name is also evident in the prayers at the eucharist. Acts of John cix : Prayer over the bread : *τίνα αἶνον ἢ ποίαν προσφορὰν ἢ τίνα εὐχαριστίαν κλῶντες τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον ἐπονομάσωμεν ἀλλ' ἢ σὲ μόνον κύριε Ἰησοῦ; δοξάζομέν σου τὸ λεχθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὄνομα. δοξάζομέν σου τὸ λεχθὲν διὰ υἱοῦ ὄνομα. δοξάζομέν σου τὴν εἴσοδον τῆς θύρας. δοξάζομέν σου τὴν δειχθεῖσαν ἡμῖν διὰ σου ἀνάστασιν. δοξάζομέν σου τὴν ὁδόν. δοξάζομέν σου τὸν σπόρον, τὸν λόγον, τὴν χάριν, τὴν πίστιν,* etc., . . . *σὺ γὰρ εἶ μόνος κύριε ἡ ῥίζα τῆς*

ἀθανασίας καὶ ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας καὶ ἡ ἕδρα τῶν αἰώνων, λεχθεὶς ταῦτα πάντα δι' ἡμᾶς νῦν ὅπως καλοῦντές σε διὰ τούτων γνωρίζωμέν σου τὸ μέγεθος ἀθεώρητον ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ὑπάρχον, καθαροῖς δὲ θεωρητὸν μόνον ἐν τῷ μόνῳ σου ἀνθρώπῳ εἰκονιζόμενον.

Acts of Thomas xlix. *'Ιησοῦ ὁ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς τῆς εὐχαριστίας τοῦ σώματός σου τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ τοῦ αἵματος κοινωνῆσαι, ἰδοὺ τολμῶμεν προσέρχεσθαι τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ καὶ ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σου τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομα· ἐλθὲ καὶ κοινώνησον ἡμῖν.*

Compare also Acts of John, lxxv ; of Thomas xxvii, xlix, cxxxii, clvii ; of Peter v.

The purpose of these praises is clearly that of glorifying the Name, or in other words, that of magnifying the Name in order that those deeds or proceedings in the worship which depend upon the activity of the Name, i.e., the presence and potent working of the bearer of the Name, may be successful and effective. The magical use of the Divine Name, in a form common in the ancient world, has once again become prominent here, although it must be remembered that even in the New Testament times, the Name was regarded as a means for healing. But here in this later stage of the development the more magical and mechanical ideas of the Name appear to have influenced the worship much more than—as far as the slight evidence shows—in the New Testament period.

It cannot be said that in the other Early Christian literature quoted above, any direct explanation is offered of the increasing expression of praise, but from allusions we may draw similar conclusions. It seems clear that the Divine Name held an important place in the worship, that the proceedings of the worship were discharged under invocation of the Name, that the connection between praise and the Divine Name was always close, and that finally praise was regarded as glorifying and magnifying the Name. These statements need some justification and the evidence for them is as follows : Justin Apol. i, 65 describes the eucharist, at the beginning of which, the leader of the church receives bread, water and wine, thus : *καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιῶσθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται.* Both here and

in 66 is then the "Amen" which is spoken by all the congregation expressly mentioned. *οὗ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων. Ἀμήν.*

Clement lxiv. *δῴη πάσῃ ψυχῇ ἐπικεκλημένῃ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ ἅγιον ὄνομα αὐτοῦ . . .*

Clement lx, 4. *ὑπηκόους γινομένους τῷ παντοκράτορι καὶ ἐνδόξῳ ὀνόματί σου . . .* Cf. also lviii, 1.

The significance of many of the hymns in Revelation is probably alluded to in xv, 4. *τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ κύριε καὶ δοξάσει τὸ ὄνομά σου; ὅτι μόνος ὅσιος, ὅτι παντα τὰ ἔθνη ἥξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου, ὅτι τὰ δικαιώματά σου ἐφανερώθησαν.* Even as these hymns are probably taken over from the worship, so may the scenes of worship before God and the Lamb be allusions to the worship of believers in the Christian gatherings. Then whereas Paul using a similar picture in Phil. ii sees the hosts of spiritual beings uttering the confession *κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς*, the author of Revelation hears only songs of praise. Both regard this worship in similar manner as *εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ = δοξάσει τὸ ὄνομα σου.*

A similar conception to that of Phil. ii is also found in Rev. xvi, 19, where blaspheming *τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ* is equivalent to not giving glory to God, and a repentance, i.e., the accepting and pronouncing of the Christian confession—as in Phil. ii, 11—gives glory to God.

We may also compare Rev. iv, 9, according to which the living creatures give *δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν* to Him who sits upon the throne ; and the elders, who apparently also join in this act of giving glory, offer worship, saying *ἄξιος εἶ ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν λαβεῖν τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν δυνάμιν . . .*

These same conceptions are also alluded to in Heb. xiii, 15 : *δι' αὐτοῦ οὖν ἀναφέρωμεν θυσίαν αἰνέσεως διὰ παντὸς τῷ θεῷ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν καρπὸν χειλέων ὁμολογούντων τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.* The preceding verses speak of sacrifice in regard both to the Jewish ritual and to the death of Jesus. Then for the Christian life sacrifice is transferred to praise in v. 15 and to charity in v. 16. This conception that true sacrifice is a sacrifice of praise is found already in the Old Testament, and we may compare particularly Ps. xlix, 7–14, which ends thus :

θῦσον τῷ θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνεσέως
καὶ ἀπόδος τῷ ὑψίστῳ τὰς εὐχάς σου
καὶ ἐπικάλεσαί με ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεως καὶ
ἐξελοῦμαί σε καὶ δοξάσεις με.

Also in v. 23 is the phrase θυσία αἰνέσεως δοξάσει με.

The passage in Hebrews is in all probability a reference to this psalm and consequently the θυσία αἰνεσέως of which Hebrews speaks may be regarded as glorifying God. But it will be noticed that in Heb. xiii, 15 this is immediately brought into the closest connection with confession of the Name. J. Moffatt translates the phrase "and by Him let us constantly offer praise to God as our sacrifice, that is the fruit of lips that celebrate his Name." The uttered confession of the Name is thus a sacrifice of praise in which God is glorified.

Finally the phrase in 1 Pet. iv, 11 : εἴ τις λαλεῖ . . . εἴ τις διακονεῖ is most probably to be taken as referring to worship.[1] The proceedings of the worship then, inspired by God, have the purpose ἵνα ἐν πᾶσιν δοξάζηται ὁ θεὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, and this phrase is followed in 1 Pet. iv, 11 by an expression, in which praise was given to God in worship, ᾧ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

The passages which have now been given may seem to be rather scattered and unimportant quotations. But that does not detract from their value, for the conceptions with which we are dealing naturally remained very much in the background of Early Christian thought. These were not the ideas which Christian writers wished to expound, but were rather the accepted notions out of which certain customs in worship sprang. Consequently the allusions to them sometimes occur in the most casual manner, but the fact that these allusions are found in so many different Christian writings shows how widespread they were.

In order to complete this section, the ideas which have been demonstrated, may now be repeated briefly. It has been shown that the Divine Name was of considerable importance in the Christian worship and that consequently invocation of this Name was frequent. This was not an

[1] Moffatt translates: "If anyone preaches . . . if anyone renders some service . . ."

isolated phenomenon among the Christians, but has to be connected with the conception of the Divine Name common in the ancient world. The forms in which this invocation was made at first, were those of praise and blessing, and in particular those of the doxologies and benedictions. But as the expected Parousia was delayed and the earlier generations of Christian died, worship became more organized and liturgical forms were developed. In line with this development arose naturally fuller forms of blessings and especially more abundant expressions of praise. But apart from their purpose as a means of invocation, the doxologies and benedictions seem to have served a further purpose, viz., that of glorifying or increasing the power of the Name in the case of praise, and that of communicating the power of the Name in the case of blessings. It is true, these conceptions emerge clearly only in the literature of the later part of the second century, but that they existed also in the minds of the earlier Christians cannot be entirely denied. Still they seem to have remained more in the background and no doubt many expressions of praise were multiplied for the single purpose of attaining a liturgical solemn effect in the public worship.

NOTE.

An examination of the benedictions and doxologies in the epistles of Paul would be incomplete without some indication of the sources from which the actual phrases used by Paul were taken. The probability has already been demonstrated that the immediate source from which Paul took them was the Christian worship, but the majority of these phrases were not first created in that worship, nor among the Christians. It has already been said that the distinctly Christian elements in the benedictions and doxologies are very few, and now it will be seen that the characteristic expressions were taken chiefly from the Septuagint, or to a lesser extent from the synagogue prayers. A few also were brought over from the Hellenistic world.

Furthermore, it seems most improbable that Paul had taken the phrases himself directly from these sources, for

as we have seen these were not phases peculiar to Paul, but were common throughout the Christian Church.

A further point will also be proved by this demonstration, viz., that the Septuagint must have been in use quite early in Christian worship. The influence of the Septuagint and of the prayers of the synagogue upon Christian worship at the end of the first century is, of course, well attested in the prayer of 1 Clement lix–lxi and especially in the prayers of the Didache, but it has been doubted whether this influence existed also earlier in the Christian development. But as regards passages of praise and blessing in Christian worship, the Septuagint undoubtedly formed the chief source not only of suitable thoughts and ideas, but also of the actual expressions which were used.

The following list does not exhaust the vocabulary of the benedictions and doxologies in Paul's epistles, but represents rather the typical and most striking phrases, for in this connection it is phrases which are typical, and so they may not be separated into their individual words.

1. Phrases from the Septuagint.

θεὸς ζῶν, 1 Thess. i, 9 (1 Tim. iv, 9).
Deut. iv, 33, *φωνὴν θεοῦ ζῶντος*.
Tob. xiii, 1, *ὁ θεὸς ὁ ζῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*.
Esther vi, 13, *θεὸς ζῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ*.
Bel. xxv, *οὗτος ἐστιν θεὸς ζῶν*.
Cf. also Esther viii, 13 ; Bel. v, 24 ; 2 Macc. vii, 33 ; xv, 4.

θεὸς ἀληθινός, 1 Thess. i, 9.
Ex. xxxiv, 6, *ὁ θεὸς . . . μακρόθυμος καὶ πολυέλες καὶ ἀληθινός*.
1 Es. viii, 29, *κύριε τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἀληθινός εἶ*.
Is. lxv, 16, *εὐλογήσουσιν γὰρ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινόν*.
Cf. also Numb. xiv, 18 ; Ps. lxxxv, 15.

ὁ αἰώνιος θεὸς, Rom. xvi, 26.
Gen. xxi, 33, *καὶ ἐπεκαλέσατο ἐκεῖ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου, θεὸς αἰώνιος*.
Is. xxvi, 4, . . . *ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας ὁ αἰώνιος* . . .
Is. xl, 28, *θεὸς αἰώνιος, ὁ θεὸς ὁ κατασκευάσας* . . .
2 Macc. i, 25, *ὁ μόνος δίκαιος καὶ παντοκράτωρ καὶ αἰώνιος*.
Cf. also Susanna xxxv ; Baruch iv, 8 ; Enoch i, 3.

ὁ θεὸς τῆς ὑπομονῆς, Rom. xv, 5.
Ps. xxxviii, 8, καὶ νῦν τίς ἡ ὑπομονή μου; ουχὶ ὁ κύριος;
Ps. lxx, 5, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ἡ ὑπομονή μου κύριε.
Jer. xiv, 8, ὑπομονὴ Ἰσραήλ, κύριε, καὶ σώζεις . . .
Jer. xvii, 13, ὑπομονὴ Ἰσραὴλ κύριε.
An exact parallel is not found.

ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἐλπίδος, Rom. xv, 13
Ps. xiii, 6, κύριος ἐλπὶς αὐτοῦ ἐστιν.
Ps. lxx, 5, κύριε ἡ ἐλπίς μου ἐκ νεότητός μου.
Ps. xc, 9, σὺ κύριε, ἡ ἐλπίς μου.
Is. xxviii, 5, τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἔσται κύριος σαβαὼθ, ὁ στέφανος τῆς ἐλπίδος.
Cf. also Ps. lxi, 7 ; lxxii, 28 ; lxxvii, 7 ; cxlv, 5.

ὁ θεὸς τῆς παρακλήσεως, Rom. xv, 2 ; 2 Cor. i, 3.
δοὺς παράκλησιν, 2 Thess. ii, 16.
Is. li, 12, ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ παρακαλῶν σε.
Is. li, 3, καὶ σὲ νῦν παρακαλέσω Σειών.
Is. xlix, 13, . . . ὅτι ἠλέησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ταπεινοὺς αὐτοῦ παρεκάλεσεν.
Ps. lxxxv, 17, ὅτι σύ κύριε ἐβοήθησας μοι καὶ παρεκάλεσάς με.

With these expressions one may also compare the continuation of 2 Cor. i, 3: ὁ παρακαλῶν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ὑμῶν.

παρακαλέσαι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας, 2 Thess. ii, 16.
Sirach xxx, 23, ἀγάπα τὴν ψυχήν σου καὶ παρακάλει τὴν καρδίαν σου.
Is. lvii, 18 . . . καὶ παρακάλεσα αὐτόν, καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτῷ παράκλησιν ἀληθινήν.

ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης, Rom. xvi, 20 ; xv, 33 ; 2 Cor. xiii, 11 ; Phil. iv, 9 ; 2 Thess. iii, 16 ; 1 Thess. v, 23
Ps. xxviii, 11, κύριος εὐλογήσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν εἰρήνῃ.
Is. xlv, 7, ἐγω κύριος ὁ θεὸς . . . ὁ ποιῶν εἰρήνην.
Numb. vi, 26, κύριος . . . δῴη σοι εἰρήνην.

A quotation from the late Jewish writing Test. of Daniel may be given here—it is taken from the *Kommentar zum N.T. aus Talmud und Midrasch* : Strack und Billerbeck, Vol. III, p. 318 : " Redet die Wahrkeit ein Jeglicher zu

seinem Nächsten, so werdet ihr nicht in Last und Unruhe geraten, sondern werdet in Frieden sein und den Gott des Friedens *τὸν θεὸν τῆς εἰρήνης* haben."

εἰρήνην τοῦ θεοῦ, Phil. iv, 4

Judges vi, 24, *καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐκεῖ Γεδεὼν θυσιαστήριον τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἐπεκάλεσεν αὐτῷ Εἰρήνην κυρίου . . .*

Is. xlv, 7, *κύριος ὁ θεὸς . . . ὁ ποιῶν εἰρήνην.*

δῴη ὑμῖν τὴν εἰρήνην, 2 Thess. iii, 16.

Numb. vi, 26, *κύριος . . . δῴη σοι εἰρήνην.*

Cf also Numb. xxv, 12 ; 1 Chron. xxii, 9.

ὁ κύριος κατευθύναι τὰς καρδίας, 2 Thess. iii, 5.

1 Chron. xxix, 18, *κύριος ὁ θεὸς . . . φύλαξον ταῦτα ἐν διανοίᾳ καρδίας λαοῦ σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ κατεύθον τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν πρὸς σέ.*

2 Chron. xii, 14, *καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ πονηρόν, ὅτι οὐ κατεύθυνεν τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἐκζητῆσαι τὸν κύριον.*

Cf. also 2 Chron. xix, 13 ; xx, 33.

Prov. xxi, 2, *πᾶς ἀνὴρ φαίνεται ἑαυτῷ δίκαιος κατευθύναι δὲ καρδίας κύριος.*

Cf. Sirach xlix, 3 ; li, 20.

θεοῦ τοῦ ἐγὼ ζωοποιοῦντος τοὺς νεκροὺς, Rom. iv, 17.

2 Kgs. v, 7, *ὁ θεὸς ἐγὼ τοῦ θανατῶσαι καὶ ζωοποιῆσαι . . . ;*

Neh. ix, 6, *σὺ εἶ αὐτὸς κύριος μόνος . . . καὶ σὺ ζωοποιεῖς τὰ πὰντα.*

Ps. lxx, 20, *καὶ ἐπιστρέψας ἐζωοποίησάς με*
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀβύσσων τῆς γῆς πάλιν ἀνήγαγές με.

1 Sam. ii, vi, *κύριος θανατοῖ καὶ ζωογονεῖ κατάγει εἰς ᾅδου καὶ ἀνάγει.*

Deut. xxxii, 39, *ἐγὼ ἀποκτεννῶ καί ζῆν ποιήσω.*

With this may also be compared the second petition of the Shemoneh Esreh, which ends thus :

בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יי מְחַיֵּה הַמֵּתִים

ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, Rom. xi, 36 ; xvi, 27 ; Gal. i, 5 ; Phil. iv, 20 ; Eph. iii, 20.

2 Chron. xxx, 8, *δότε δόξαν κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ.*

Ps. lxvii, 35, *δότε δόξαν τῷ θεῷ.*

Is. xlii, 12, *δώσουσιν τῷ θεῷ δόξαν.*
Jer. xiii, 16, *δότε τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ ὑμῶν δοξαν . . .*

πιστὸς ὁ θεὸς, 1 Cor. i, 9.
Deut. vii, 9, *ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου, οὗτος θεὸς, θεὸς πιστός·*
Deut. xxxii, 4, *θεὸς πιστός καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδικία.*
Ps. cxliv, 14, *πιστὸς κύριος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ.*

2. Phrases from the synagogue.

εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς, Rom. i, 25 ; ix, 5 ; 2 Cor. i, 3 ; xi, 31 ; Eph. i, 3.

This expression occurs frequently in the Old Testament. Gen. ii, 26 ; xiv, 30 ; xxiv, 37 ; 1 Sam. xxv, 32, 33 ; 2 Sam. xviii, 28 ; 1 Kgs. i, 48 ; v, 7 ; viii, 15 ; 1 Chron. xxix, 10 ; 2 Chron. ii, 13 ; Ps. xl, 14 ; lxxi, 19 ; lxxxviii, 53 ; cv, 48, etc.

It was also a very common expression in Judaism, used daily in blessings.

εἷς θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ, 1 Cor. viii, 16 ; Eph. iv, 6.
Deut. vi, 4, *κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἷς ἐστιν.*

This is the commencement of the Shemah and so was familiar through the worship of the synagogue.

εἰρήνη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔλεος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ισραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ, Gal. vi, 16 (cf. 1 Tim. i, 2 ; 2 Tim. i, 2).
Shemoneh Esreh (Baby. Rescension) 19.

שִׂים שָׁלוֹם . . . וָחֶסֶד וְרַחֲמִים עָלֵינוּ וְעַל כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל עַמֶּךָ : |

Qaddish.

. . . הוּא בְּרַחֲמָיו יַעֲשֶׂה שָׁלוֹם עָלֵינוּ וְעַל־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל :

ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ, Phil. iv, 7.
Cf. Shemoneh Esreh xix.

3. Phrases from Hellenism.

Three phrases come into consideration here, which are of a different type from those mentioned above, viz. :

ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτὸν, 1 Cor. viii, 6.
δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ, Rom. xi, 36 .
ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν, Eph. iv, 6.

Frequent parallels to these sentences from the literature of the Hellenistic world are given at the appropriate places in the *Handbuch zum N.T.* and there is no need to repeat them here.

All the chief expressions used in the benedictions and doxologies have now been quoted and there can be little doubt concerning their sources. Many were taken over from the Septuagint or the prayers of the synagogue ; and these were formed by association with phrases from these sources. But the chief source is clearly the Old Testament.

CHAPTER III

FURTHER DISCUSSIONS OF THE PASSAGES ROM. XVI, 25–27; ROM. IX, 5; I THESS. V, 23; 2 COR. XIII, 13

The real purpose of this thesis has now been accomplished and our discussion concerning the origin and significance of the benedictions and doxologies is concluded. We have set them in their wider place in general religious life and we have attempted to show their use and development in various types of worship. This has enabled us to form a standard by which to estimate their value in the epistles of Paul, and has suggested the real importance which we should attach to them in our expositions. The significance of the given facts in regard to the majority of the benedictions and doxologies in Paul's epistles will readily be understood and has become clear in preceding pages, but a few paragraphs seem necessary concerning the four passages, mentioned above for these passages are outstanding by reason of the special difficulties which they present. This is the justification for, and purpose of, this concluding chapter.

In consequence of the difficulties of these passages—Rom. xvi, 25–27; Rom. ix, 5; I Thess. v, 23; 2 Cor. xiii, 13—many interpretations have been offered, and attempts have often been made to read certain theological conceptions out of them, which have then been attributed to Paul. The foregoing facts, however, will have given some indication of the manner in which these passages should be approached, and in the light of those facts they will now be examined.

But first a fact which has become clear in the previous discussion must again be emphasized, viz., that the seeking of Paul's theological conceptions in the benedictions and doxologies cannot be justified. We have seen that these benedictions and doxologies belong to a distinct type of religious expression, whose purpose was not that of setting forth carefully considered conceptions. At the most we might find one or two ideas which could be said to be

common among many Early Christians and which consequently were beginning to appear even in the more conservative parts of worship. We may trace to a certain extent, for example, the attitude of the Early Christians in their worship towards Christ. But no single benediction and doxology can in itself provide certain evidence for ideas existing among the early Christians, for most of these expressions were first created neither by the Christians nor by Paul, but they were rather familiar phrases or a Christian adaptation of familiar phrases. Furthermore these benedictions and doxologies are found in those sections of Paul's letters which have little to do with his distinct theology, and even in these sections, they are usually used as independent passages inserted to form a fitting conclusion. These facts with their obvious import in any attempt at an explanation of the passages, must be remembered in the following discussion.

Rom. xvi, 25–27. The earlier sections have shown that this passage is unique among the doxologies of Paul's epistles. It differs very considerably in phraseology, with the exception of the expression *ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας* . . . , and also in style. Furthermore it has also been shown that this type of doxology which is also represented by Eph. iii, 20, 21 ; 1 Tim. i, 17 and Martyrium Poly. xx, 2, appeared in all probability later in the development.

The doubt thus created that this doxology is one used and written by Paul, is strengthened by the uncertainty of position which is found in the manuscripts, for the doxology occurs at the end of chap. xiv, at the end of chap. xvi and in some manuscripts is omitted entirely.[1]

This seems to show conclusively that in this doxology we have a later addition to the epistle. The motive for this addition would in all probability be the same as that for other doxologies in the epistles, viz., to provide a fitting conclusion to the public reading of the epistle in worship. It has been said that in this doxology " all the great thoughts of the epistles are summed up,"[2] but that can well have been done by one who was familiar with the thought and contents

[1] A concise survey of the manuscript evidence is given in the *I.C.C. Romans*, Sanday and Headlam, p. 89, and also *Handbuch zum N.T.* " Römerbrief." H. Leitzmann, pp. 130–131.

[2] Sanday and Headlam. *Romans. I.C.C.*

of the letter through the constant hearing of it in worship. The literary character then of the passage, which again is a unique feature of this doxology, can be due to the deliberate attempt to provide this fitting conclusion.

The opportunity for the addition of this doxology was provided by the absence of chaps. xv and xvi in certain manuscripts. We know that in Marcion's text these chapters were missing, and it may well be that the doxology was created among his followers.[1]

Rom. ix, 5. *ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.* The chief problems in connection with this passage centre around the question of punctuation. In this discussion it will be maintained that the words quoted above are a unity, forming a single doxology, addressed in Paul's customary manner to God.

The latter half of the sentence is the usual Jewish doxological phrase, but the former half may also well have been a common expression, for Eph. iv, 6 has a similar phrase, *εἷς θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν.* It has been seen that doxological forms were used with considerable freedom thus creating many varieties from one simple expression. So the phrase *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων* could easily have been altered and have become an independent expression.

It is true that the separation of the article *ὁ* from the substantive *θεὸς* is unique among the doxologies of Paul's epistles but one may not therefore refer the article to the preceding phrase, for the tendency to place a few words between the article and the substantive shows itself clearly in the post exilic Jewish writings. This tendency is not found in the earlier books of the Old Testament and arose in agreement with the increase of praises and doxologies. Examples of this manner of expression are :

Wisdom of Solomon, viii, 3, *ὁ πάντων δεσπότης ἠγάπησεν αὐτήν.*

Wisdom of Solomon, xvi, 7, *ὁ γὰρ ἐπιστραφεὶς οὐ διὰ τὸ θεωρούμενον ἐσώζετο, ἀλλὰ διὰ σέ, τὸν πάντων σωτῆρα.*

[1] Cf. Leitzmann, *Handbuch zum N.T.*, who writes in regard to the absence of chaps. xv–xvi in Marcion's text : " Da nun ein Schluss ganz fehlte, so schuf man (vielleicht in marcionitischen Kreisen) ein grösseres abschliessendes Gebilde liturgischen Charakters, wohl infolge der Briefverlesung beim Gotterdienst, die Doxologie, daraus erklärt sich auch ihr unpaulinischer Sprachgebrauch."

2 Macc. iii, 22, *οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπεικαλοῦντο τὸν παγκρατῆ κύριον.*
2 Macc. vii, 35, *οὔπω γὰρ τὴν τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἐπόπτου θεοῦ κρίσιν ἐκπέφευγας.*
2 Macc. xii, 6, *καὶ ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸν δίκαιον κριτὴν θεόν . . .*
3 Macc. ii, 21, *ἐνταῦθα ὁ πάντων ἐπόπτης θεὸς.*
3 Macc. v, 28, *τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἐνέργεια τοῦ πάντα δεσποτεύοντος θεοῦ . . .*
3 Macc. vi, 18, *τότε ὁ μεγαλόδοξος καὶ παντοκράτωρ καὶ ἀληθινὸς θεὸς.*
3 Macc. vii, 9, *ἀλλὰ τὸν πάσης δεσπόζοντα δυνάμεως θεὸν ὕψιστον . . .*
Cf. also Is. lii, 12 ; 2 Macc. viii, 18 ; xi, 9, 13 ; 3 Macc. iii, 11; v, 17 ; v, 25 ; vi, 28, 29, 32 ; vii, 6, 22 ; 4 Macc. i, 12 ; v, 25 ; xii, 18.

The expression *ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς* belongs plainly to this style of expression and may well have been familiar to Paul either directly from Jewish circles or from a Christian community. The single difference from the above quotations is the use of the participle *ὢν* in Rom. ix, 5, but in view of the frequent use of the participle in doxologies, this need cause no difficulty. Also this is no isolated example, for in 2 Cor. xi, 31 Paul writes *ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ οἶδεν, ὁ ὢν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας . . .*

So we may regard this expression as a unity, which in all probability was coined in Judaism and so made familiar to Paul. Consequently the word *ὁ* cannot be referred back to *χριστὸς*, but must be connected with *θεὸς*.

Difficulty has also been felt at times about the position of the word *εὐλογητὸς*, for it usually stands at the beginning of a doxology. But that a change was possible is proved by Ps. lxvii, 20 *κύριος ὁ θεὸς εὐλογητὸς* . . . Furthermore, *εὐλογητὸς* never stands alone, i.e., here the preceding phrase must be connected with the word in order to form the complete doxology, and we have seen that the whole of the preceding phrase must be taken, for it is a unity. This is in opposition to an interpretation which has recently been put forward by E. Barnikol,[1] who refers *ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων* to *χριστὸς*, because for God it is " selbstverständlich und

[1] E. Barnikol, *Mensch und Messias: der nichtpaulinische Ursprung der Präexistenz-christologie.*

darum überflüssig,"[1] and interprets πάντων as referring to the patriarchs of Israel[2] over whom the exalted Christ takes precedence. Hence the doxology θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς . . . The above facts which show that ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς must be taken as a unity render this interpretation impossible.

The interpretation of the doxology is fully in accord with Paul's general usage of doxologies ; for both his custom of avoiding any doxology addressed to Christ and also his statements regarding praise[3] make it improbable that this doxology should be referred to Christ.

But it may also be asked, why Paul should have inserted a doxology at this point, for he is just commencing a new section of the epistle. We have to remember the frequency with which the pious Jews of that day used such doxologies, and Rom. ix, 5 is the commonest form of expression ; viz. εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Paul was also liable in the midst of a passage to insert a doxology, cf. Rom. i, 35 ; 2 Cor. xi, 31. The utterance of these doxologies was not governed by necessity, but rather by feeling, and it is evident that Rom. ix, 1–5 was written in an emotional moment. It is a rhetorical sentence in which Paul's deepest religious feelings—his affection for his nation which in the Christian Paul was always very strong, and his affection for Christ—are touched, and in such a moment it was natural for him to utter a doxology. We must not press the interpretation too closely or too concisely, and we have already seen that the doxologies as a whole cannot form any basis or substantiation for theological conceptions. Many interpretations have missed the deeply emotional nature of this passage and the ease with which such passages can lead to a familiar and oft-used religious expression. So Paul concludes his mention of the benefits of his nation with the crowning benefit in Christ, by means of this familiar doxology.

1 Thess. v, 13. The chief problem raised by this verse is the question raised by the expression τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ

[1] P. 106.

[2] "Mit den πάντες sind die Israeliten und zumal die Erzväter gemeint. Selbst den Patriarchen Abraham, Isaak und Jakob ist nunmehr der erhöhte Messias uberlegen." P. 106.

[3] Cf. ii, 34.

ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα. But the facts which have been presented in previous pages will help in deciding what value should be placed upon this expression, as revealing any of Paul's conceptions. It will be noticed that certain parts of this benediction are very familiar and occur in other doxologies and benedictions in Paul's epistles, e.g., ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης, Rom. xvi, 20 ; xv, 33 ; 2 Cor. xiii, 11 ; Phil. iv, 7 ; 2 Thess. iii, 12. The verb ἁγιάσαι is the customary active aorist optative. Further, if the words τηρηθείη ὁλόκληρον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα are abstracted from the sentence, a close resemblance will be found with 1 Thess. iii, 12, ὑμᾶς δὲ ὁ κύριος πλεονάσαι . . . εἰς τὸ στηρίξαι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας ἀμέμπτους ἐν ἁγιωσύνῃ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ.

It is just the words which we have abstracted which cause the problem, for they are unique in Paul's writings and seem to be strange in the benedictions. Apart from the verse the passive optative is not found in Paul's writings,[1] the verb is always active with ὁ θεὸς, ὁ κύριος as nominative. But here τὸ πνεῦμα, etc., is the subject of the verb.

Furthermore in similar sentences of blessing the customary word which Paul uses is καρδία, e.g.,

2 Thess. iii, 5, ὁ κύριος κατευθύναι τὰς καρδίας.
1 Thess. iii, 12, εἰς τὸ στηρίξαι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας ἀμέμπτους.
2 Thess. ii, 17. . . . παρακαλέσαι τὰς καρδίας.
Phil. iv, 7. . . . φρουρήσει τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ νοήματα.
1 Thess. ii, iv. . . . δοκιμάζοντα τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν·

It may well be that the expression τὸ πνεῦμα, etc., was used in some wish common in the Hellenistic world, for the conception of a trichotomy in the human personality is undoubtedly Hellenistic.[2] If this expression then became familiar to Paul, he could easily have used it in combination with the other familiar—and Jewish—phrases which make up this benediction, and he could have used it in place of the customary καρδία. Such a combination of phrases

[1] The passive optative is used in the New Testament apart from this passage 1 Thess. v, 23, only in 1 Pet. i, 12 ; 2 Pet. i, 12 ; Jude 2, πληθυνθείη and 2 Tim. iv, 16 μὴ αὐτοῖς λογισθείη i.e., in non-pauline writings.

[2] *Cf. Handbuch zum N.T.* Commentary on Thessalonians by M. Dibelius where evidence for this is given.

from different sources need not appear strange, for an excellent example is provided by Rom. xi, 33–36 where phrases from the Septuagint, from Judaism and from Hellenism are brought together.[1]

This analysis of the passage, together with our general view of benedictions, shows how little such a phrase may be used to prove that Paul held a particular conception concerning human personality. This is an isolated clause and from the manner in which it is used, there can be no doubt that clear definition is not intended. Paul catches up an expression which he has heard or which he recalls to mind, but he does not thereby identify himself with the exact meaning which this phrase originally held, nor does he use it with the same conciseness of conception with which it might be used in the Hellenistic world. The phrase is proof of certain conceptions in the Hellenistic world, rather than of those conceptions in the mind of Paul.

2 Cor. xiii, 13. This is an expanded form of the benediction with which Paul usually closes his letters, and it is of peculiar interest because of its clear and concise reference to the Trinity. No importance, of course, can be attached to the order in which Christ, God and the Holy Spirit are mentioned for Paul begins this benediction with the words, with which he always commenced his concluding benediction, viz., *ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* and it is simply force of habit which brings these words first in this passage.

Nor can this mention of the Trinity offer any proof that this benediction was formulated at a later period than the other benedictions of Paul's epistles, for the existence of a formula, in which the Trinity is deliberately named, is evidenced for a somewhat later period in Matt. xxviii, 19, but this verse undoubtedly presumes a custom which was already known. The addition to 1 Cor. viii, 6 which is found in many manuscripts also points to the same custom. Moreover, even in other parts of Paul's letters we find evidence of a formula in which the Trinity must have been mentioned. Such a formula has in all probability influenced 1 Cor. xii, 4 ff. : *διαιρέσεις δὲ χαρισμάτων εἰσίν, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα· καὶ διαιρέσεις διακονιῶν εἰσίν, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς κύριος· καὶ διαιρέσεις ἐνεργημάτων εἰσίν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς θεὸς ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα*

[1] Cf. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, pp. 241–250.

ἐν πᾶσιν.[1] Consequently it is not surprising that among the benedictions, a passage based upon a conception of the Trinity should be found.

If then 2 Cor. xiii, 13 is rightly to be included among the other benedictions and doxologies of the epistles of Paul, the conclusions which we have drawn for them, will apply also to this particular verse, viz., that the benedictions were in all probability taken over by Paul from the Christian worship, and that they were used in that worship before the period at which the epistles were written.[2] This conclusion, however, is of particular interest for a solution of the problem, which is offered by the phrase ἡ κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. This phrase is often included and compared with other passages in Paul's epistles, where κοινωνία occurs, in order thereby to gain some explanation of it. But in view of the previous discussion, considerable doubt must be entertained whether this is the right method. An expression, which was created before Paul's literary activity cannot be explained by comparison with phrases which Paul himself created. We cannot lightly assume that Paul's peculiar thought is present in every phrase which he wrote and often we have to inquire what meaning a particular expression had for the Early Christians with whom Paul worked and among whom this expression may have been familiar before Paul used it in a letter.

Yet the former method of comparison is that adopted in a book which has recently appeared on this subject.[3] At the beginning of a section, which includes 2 Cor. xiii, 13 among other passages from Paul's epistles, and in which he gives to κοινωνία the meaning "die Teilnahme" "das Anteil-haben," Seeseman writes (p. 31): "Dieser Paragraph hat sich daher nur mit Problemen des paulinischen Sprachgebrauches und damit zusammenhängend der paulinischen Theologie zu beschäftigen. Es ist von Bedeutung, das hier gleich am Anfang festzustellen." And

[1] Cf. *Handbuch zum N.T.* H. Lietzmann in his comment on this passage.

[2] H. Lietzmann in *Messe und Herrenmahl*, p. 229 and also in *Geschichte der alten Kirche*, Vol. I, p. 154, is of the opinion that this benediction was used at the beginning of the Eucharist. But the evidence for that is slight, and it is as probable that it was used at baptism, for in the Early Christian baptismal ceremony we know for certain that a formula making mention of the Trinity, was used. Cf. Matt. xxviii, 19; Didache vii, Justin, Apol. i, 61.

[3] H. Seeseman, *Der Begriff Koinonia im N.T.*, 1932.

on p. 62 he writes, "Nach den Ergebnissen, zu denen die Untersuchung beiher geführt hat, ist es jedenfalls kein willkürliches Vorurteil, wenn ich an dieser Stelle (2 Kor. xiii, 13) mit der Voraussetzung herantrete, dass Paulus hier von κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος im Sinne eines Anteilhabens am heiligen Geist spricht." Seeseman rightly calls 2 Cor. xiii, 13, a formula of blessing and recognizes the difference of such a formula from its context : p. 62, "Der Grund für diese Ausgestaltung des Segenwunsches an dieser Stelle lässt sich nicht nachweisen ; weder aus dem Inhalt des 2 Kor. noch aus der Situation, aus der heraus Paulus den Brief schreibt (soweit wir sie kennen) ergeben sich Anhaltspunkte." But Seeseman does not draw the conclusion that 2 Cor. xiii, 13 was an independent and already formulated benediction, and consequently he endeavours to interpret the passage with the aid of definitely Pauline references. Such a method is not, however, permissible.

But if this passage is thus referred back to the Early Christian community, there are only a few passages which can help us towards an interpretation. Similar expressions in the benedictions and doxologies may first be considered, and here it is clear that the attribute of the Divine were not yet fixed nor were they always attached to the same substantive, i.e., God, Christ or the Holy Spirit. Bearing 2 Cor. xiii, 13 in mind, we may compare the following passages :

Rom. xv, 20, διὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ πνεύματος.
1 Cor. i, 9. . . . δι' οὗ ἐκλήθητε εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.
2 Cor. xiii, 11, ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης.
2 Thess. iii, 5, εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
2 Cor. x, 1, διὰ τῆς πραΰτητος καὶ ἐπιεικείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
Phil. iv, 7, ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ.

Among these phrases κοινωνία occurs only in 1 Cor. i, 9 and this is important for only in these two passages in the New Testament is κοινωνία followed by a genitive denoting a person. Seeseman, p. 15, has shown that this

use of κοινωνία was also rare apart from Christian writings, and therefore non-Christian literature does not help to provide an explanation for the phrase κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

If now 2 Cor. xiii, 13, is considered alone, it seems probable that its three phrases are to be taken as parallel in construction. But the first two phrases, ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου . . . ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ are certainly subjective genitives and this creates a strong supposition that the third will be similar. Furthermore, in the benedictions and doxologies similar genitive phrases seem always to be subjective genitives. The meaning of the sentence then according to this should be as follows : χάρις τοῦ κυρίου = the grace which Christ imparts, it is the result of living ἐν Χριστῷ; ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ = the love given from God ; ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος = the fellowship which results from and is created by the presence of the Holy Spirit. We have now to ask whether this interpretation was possible in the early Church.

From the earliest times, it is apparent that the distinguishing feature of the Christian life was the possession of the Spirit. Pentecost was regarded as an outpouring of the Spirit, Acts ii, 17, 18 ; ii, 23 ; baptism was accompanied by the reception of the Spirit, Acts ii, 38 ; x, 47 ; the Spirit was given through the laying on of hands, Acts xix, 6 ; viii, 17 ; speaking with tongues and prophesying were the marks of the activity of the Spirit, Acts ii, 4. But these peculiarities of the Christian life were particularly prominent in the assemblies of the Christians, where the activity of the Spirit was specially felt and manifest. Now for this inner fellowship which was thus created among the Christians the word κοινωνία was used, and this meaning appears clearly in Acts ii, 42 and possibly also in 1 Cor. i, 9.[1] So when one thought of the results of the activity of the Holy Spirit in the common life of the Christians, the phrase nearest at hand was ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος,

[1]In regard to 1 Cor. i, 9 Seeseman writes (p. 48): "Man kann das Wort 1 Kor. i, 9 nicht als Gemeinschaft = Societas verstehen, dagegen spricht nicht nur das Fehlen des Artikels vor κοινωνία . . ., sondern vor allem die Tatsache, dass der Gedanke, der sich dann ergibt (Gott beruft die Gläubigen in die durch Christus gegründete Gemeinschaft) völlig unpaulinisch ist." But if, as is probable, Paul is here using a common expression, the thought need not be distinctly Pauline.

for this phrase included at once the activity of the Spirit in personal life and the peculiar, intimate fellowship of individuals which this common possession created.

Thus this exposition has its natural background in the life of the early Church, and agrees well in its context in 2 Cor. xiii, 13, since a parallel construction is maintained.

These four passages, each of which presents its own exegetical problems, have now been discussed, and it may be claimed that the conclusions which were reached in previous pages, have helped towards the elucidation of these problems. At the same time it is hoped that some light may have been shed upon the general use and meaning of benedictions and doxologies in the early Church, and upon their particular use in the epistles of Paul.

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Champion

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